AN EPISTLE OF THE PERSECVTION OF CATHOLICKES IN ENGLANDE.

Translated owt of frenche into Englishe and conferred with the Latyne copie. by. G. T.

To whiche there is added an epistle by the translator to the right honorable Lordes of her maiesties preuie councell towchynge the same matter.

Psal. 105. Ver. 38.

They shed innocent blood, euen the blood of theyr owne sonnes and of theyr owne daughters.

Psal. 78. Ver. 2.

They lay the deade bodyes of thy seruantes (o Lorde) for meate to the fowles of the ayer. and the flesh of thy saintes to the beastes of the fielde.

Imprynted at Douay in Artois.

TO THE HONORABLE LORDES OF HER MAIESTIES PREEVIE COVNCLLL.

INDINGE this epiſtle of the perſecution of Englande, divulged in diuers foraine languages, Right honorable: I vvas moued bothe to trauſlate it to my countrye men, vvhome properlye it concernethe: & to directe it to your Lordſhips, to vvhome principallye it appertaineth. My entent herein vvas ſimple and plaine: Firſt to procure good mens prayers, by diſcloſinge our neceſſities, ſecondlie, to moue your honours at lenght, (if it might bee,) to ſome fauorable & mercifull conſideration of our calamities: vvhiche perhaps in ſome parte are more particulerlye declared in this diſcourſe, then euerie one of your honoures hathe ether knovvē or cōſidered of heretofore.

For albeit vve are not ignorant, that our afflictions and perſecutions do paſſe vpoon vs bothe in name & authoritie as from your Lordſhips: yet knovv vve alſo, that you are not alvvayes preeuie to euerye our particuler agreeuement and hard vſage, nor if you vvere, (beinge vvyſe and honorable) vvoulde allovve of the ſame.

VVherefore ſeinge the treatiſe follovvinge

ys vvriten by a man, bothe of greate modeſtie, as appeareth, by his ſtyle, and alſo of good intelligence in Engliſhe matters paſt, as it maye ſeme by the particulers by him alleaged: I doe moſt humblye beſeeche your honours, to lend the labour of readinge ouer the ſame, and to conſider in your owne cõſciences, before the dreadfull maieſtie of our lord and Sauyour, to vvhoſe iuſtice bothe you and vve remaine accountable for our doinges in this lyfe, vvhether the ſufferinges of Catholiques heere recited, deſerue complaint of our ſyde and of your honours parte, conſideration or no. It is a lavvfull and allovvable refuge deliuered vs by nature her ſelfe, to mourne and bevvayle in time of affliction, and to barre vs of this, ether by offence or puniſhement, vvere as harde as to prohibite the ſicke man to grone, or the childe to pule vvhiche is greevouſlye beaten. If vve grone vvithout greefe, or complayne vvithout cauſe: vve are vvnvvorthye of compaſſion, and deſerue no redreſſe: but if our caſe be ſuche, as it moueth admiration to as manie as heare it, and no ſmall horror to them vvhiche conſider it: vve hope your Lordſhips, beinge our borne peeres and Nobles of our nation, vvil not alvvayes beare your ſelues more compaſſionles tovvards our miſeries, then ſtraungers vvho haue leſſe cauſe in nature to affecte vs.

Enter in (my good Lordes) I beſeche you on my knees even for his ſake of vvhome you alſo muſte one daye crave mercye, enter in (I ſay) but to ſome ſmall cogitation, vvhat you do: to vvhome: for vvhat cauſe: to vvhat ende.

You perſecute beauylye, and that in ſuche

measure as the lyke hathe ſcarſe ben mentioned in Chriſtianitie before, albeit in ſome pointes more couertlye then ſome other did. And as for the diſciplyne of the Catholique Churche, vvhiche is commonlye accuſtomed to be laied againſte vs, vvhereby ſhe puniſhethe nevv fangled deuiſers, and obſtinate bringers in of nevv religion, it hathe no compariſon at all vvithe this of yours: for firſt, that diſciplyne is olde and auncient, and allovved by your ovvne practice of burninge other ſectaries then of the parte of Caluine. VVhereby it follovvethe, that our Churche hauinge condemned as orderlie Iohn Calvine and his followers, in her late generall and moſt learned Councell, as ſhe hathe donne other ſectaries executed by your ſelues: yf ſhe puniſhe alſo Calviniſtes amonge other ſectaries: ſhe is no more to be blamed for the ſame in indifferẽcie of reaſon, then your parte for burninge Anabaptiſtes familians or the lyke.

Vvhat perſecutiõ Catholiques ſuffer.

Secondlye if vve compare the procedinges of Catholiques to proteſtantes generallie, or of Engliſhe Catholiques, tovvardes them of Caluins parte in Queene Maries tyme, (for that is moſt of all brought and vrged againſt vs:) vve ſhall finde that in all reſpectes, this far to ſurmounte and to ouer reache that, and to be bothe greater, and incomparablye more grieuouſe.

The cõpariſon of this perſecution to that in Queene Maryes tyme.

For firſt ether ſevv or none vvere tovvched then, but ſuche as vvere ether obſtinate, or malitiouſe, or vvilfull to intrude them ſelues: and hovve infinite manie vvere tollerated, and vvinncked at, although they vvere knovven, ſome of your honours (I thinke) vvill not denie to gette

particuler testimonye. Secondlie they vvhiche vvere complained of, and attached, vvere ciuilye dealt vvithall, disputed vvithe at large, bothe publiquelye and priuatelye, made to see their vvealknes, though not to cõfesse the same: and if sentence passed against them for obstinacie, yet vvas their execution, vvithe all fauorable compassion, vvhiche the lavve did permit, and mitigation of their paines vvithe shorte dispathe: the contrarie of all vvhiche is vsed towvards vs. And as for tormentinge and rackinge and prohibitinge their frinds from sustaininge them, vvithe terrour to all those vvhiche shoulde bodilye releeue their pouertie: I thinke our aduersaries vvill not once charge vs vvithe it. It is not practized amongest vs, vppon the greatest heretiques that euer vvere: God for bid that it shoulde, it is to to cruell for Christian natures. VVe are commaunded by our religion, to feede the hungrie, as Christ him selfe, and muche more, not to barr them that vvoulde geue releefe, vvhen vve vvill not. Finallye, if vve confer numbers to numbers, men to men, prisons to prisons, vsage to vsage, there is no comparison.

Matth. 27.

Esa. 58.

Differẽces betvvixt the punished protestantes and Catholiques.

And yet (good Lorde) vvhat kyn or liknes is there in the matter? they vvere punished by an auncient generall lavve, for brynginge in of nevv opinions, neuer hard of in England before, and condemned by the highe Consistorie and parlament of Christiandome, gathered together for the same purpose. Vve are persecuted by nevv nationall Statutes, for holdinge the auncient faithe of Christianitie, and onelie religion of our forefathers in England, vvithout either

tryall or publique disputation in our doctrine. They dissented not onlie from vs but also from the first beginners of their owne side, and were solemlye condemned for heretiques by the same. but no suche matter can be saied of vs. They agreed not amongest them selues vppon the pointes of anie one relygion, but eche man as he had receaued of some particuler teacher. So beinge asked (for Example sake) of the number of Sacramentes: [a] some helde two, withe Caluinistes, some three or fower withe Melancth6. Some three or two, or one withe [b] Luther. And if they were demaunded of particuler sacramentes, as of penance: one would holde it no sacrament withe Caluin, an other a sacrament withe Melancthon, an other onelye a sacramentall signe withe [c] Luther in one place, and in an other, a verye [d] trew sacramēt hauinge annexed vnto it, the promise of grace. If they were asked of holy orders: one would deny it to be a sacrament with Luther and Melancthon in one place, and an other would holde it a trew sacrament withe Melancthon in an [e] other place. Some other would holde it an vnordinarie sacrament withe [f] Caluine, and thus as sheepe brought owt of their folde, and left amazed in the brode silde, not knowinge what waye or pathe to take, they stood giddie in their owne opinions, and yet with obstinacye euerie man to dye in the same: but we stand all in one faithe the consonant to it selfe in euerie point, not deuised by our selues, but left vnto vs by the generall consent of all antiquitie in Christian dome, and yet are we more afflicted for the

By Luther ar. 18. cont. Loua. to. 2. Vvitten. fo. 503. also by the Edict of the princes of mās filde anno 1560. and by others.

a. He holdeth three in apolog. confes. August. cap. de sacra. And sower in editione 1. Loco. cō.

b. So he holdethe in the beginninge and end of his captiuitie of. Babilō:

c. So he holdeth in lib. de ca. Babi.

d. So he holdeth expresselie ar. 35. cont. Lu uan:

e. in edi: vl: locorū cō. f. li: 4: c: 24:

ſame, then if vve vvere heretiques or deuiſers of anie nevv religion.

The perſons perſecuted.

The perſons puniſhed by your honours are of your ovvne bloud, and nation, borne ſubiectes of the lande, and commonlye of ſuche lyfe and conuerſation, as are not vvorſt lyked in the places vvhere they dvvell: of quiet and ciuill behauyour moſt readie bothe vvithe lyfe & goods to ſerue their Princeſſe, and your honours, vvith all devvtifull and faithfull good vvill. They neither deale nor practiſe agaynſt the ſtate abrode, nor offer iniuries to their neighbours at home. But are moſt readye and vvillinge to concurre vvithe your Lordſhips, for the preſeruinge theyr Countrye in peace and quiet, eche man accordinge to his povver & callinge. The onlie cauſe of their moleſtation, is their conſcience in religion, vvhiche beinge ſetled vppon inuincible grounds, as it ſemethe to them, is not in their povver to alter at their pleaſure, neither is any perſecution in the vvorde, able to change the ſame, but rather confirmethe it more & more. bringinge alvvaies an argument vvithe it, of lacke of truthe in the perſecutor, vvhiche ſeekethe to ſupply by externall terror the thynge he is not able to proue by argument.

The cauſe of perſecution.

The ende of this perſecution.

The ende therfore vvhiche your Lordſhips pretende by this rigourouſe courſe of auſteritie to vvitt, to bringe men to conformitie in matters of religion, can neuer doubtles take effect by this meanes, but muſt nedes make greater diſiunction, for the reaſons by me declared before. And if your honours ſhoulde vppon terrour bringe any fraile man to conforme him ſelfe

againſt his conſcience, in ſuche externall actes, as you require: yet your vvifdomes can not but conſider, that he is neuer the nearer gotten for this, but rather in his harte muche farther of then before, hauinge vvounded his ſovvle and conſcience vppon compulſion, vvhiche lyinge greuouſe and feſteringe vvith in his breaſt, muſt needes often put him in mynde of the iniurye receaued, and ſo more deteſt the thynge done, then before. VVherfore ſeinge there is nothinge gotten to your Lordſhips entent, by this mans diſſimulation, but muche loſt often tymes vnto him ſelfe, euen as muche as the price of his ſoule for doinge againſt his conſcience and iudgemēt, vvherby he muſt be tried at the latter daye: there is no cauſe ether in reſpect of pollicie or religion, vvhich maie perſvvade vs, that your honours vvill alvvayes holde this heauie and extreame raſe tovvardes vs.

And becauſe I fall into the mention here of polycie, vvherunto I knovve your honours, (as very vviſe,) to haue a ſpeciall eye and particuler regarde, albeit I preſume not to pretende any part of that profounde iudgement, vvhiche your honorable vviſedomes by nature and longe practiſe haue attained in the ſame: yet to ſay that, vvhich common reaſon layethe oppen to euerye meane vnderſtandinge: it appearethe no vvaie to impeache polycie (if reſpect of conſcience vvere laide a ſide) to proceede ſome vvhat mylder vvithe the Catholique parte in Englande. Poly ie.

I vvill not talke of intrinſecall and ſpeciall pointes, mentioned heretofore by ſome other, by M:L: kovvlet: & M:D. Allen

& easie to be considered of by your Lordships, as the counterpesinge of other sectes, and daungerous factions, growinge and confirminge by the quiet they enioye through our onlie molestations. I will speake onlie of the nature of our Catholique religion, whiche as it was first plotted ovvt by the most highe vvisedome of God him selfe, that is, by his Sonne our Sauiour, and founded by them vvhiche immediatlye receaued their spirite from him, that is, by his Apostles, and disciples: so standeth it substantiallie, vvith all right vvisedome and polycie,) beinge giftes of God and litle sparkles of his infinite vvisedome) and establisheth the kingdomes vvherein it is receaued and executed accordinglie, in all honour, peace, tranquilitie and vvealthe, as may appeare by the longe continuance of other Realmes Catholique abrode, and especiallie by our ovvne, vvhiche hathe continued from the beginninge of her conuersion, for the space of more then a Thovvsande yeres, in greate prosperitie, riches, and renovvne by the same. Vvhereas in the meane space, diuers greate kyngdomes, states, and principalities, haue ben ouerthrovven by the occasion of heresie and alteringe this religion, as Asia, Greece, Egypt, Affrica, Hungarie, and the like: and vvhat vvill finallie become of diuers other countryes neere vnto vs and as yet lyinge vnder the tryall of Gods hande, though alreadie greately rased, spoyled, and impouerished, vve can not tell.

The differet effectes of heresie and Catho

And the reason of these different effectes in heresye and in the Catholique religion, besydes the particuler prouidence of God, stande-

the principallie in this one pointe, that vve haue a certayne and sure meane to kepe vnitie and consent thorovvgh ovvt the vvhole, by vnderstandinge scriptures accordinge to the expositions of our forefathers from tyme to tyme, and by obeyinge the determination of one Supreme pastor, vvith the generall Councells of Christian prelates, in all matter of stryfe that may fall ovvt. VVheras the heretique in the cõtrarye parte, obeyinge no pastor, but at his pleasure, nor receauinge anie mans exposition of scripture but his ovvne, must nedes rayse and maintayne much contrarietie of opinions, and consequentlye muche deuision of people by the same: and then hauinge no place to rest, nor vvaye to end (for generall Councell or pastor he vvil not heare), also makinge the temporall prince hed of all, vvhiche often tymes is a childe, and may easelie be impelled to varietie of humours: must needes make greate innouations, vvhiche alvvaies are greate hazardes to kingedomes and states. And this in generall is betvvixt our religion and others tovvchinge the matter of Commonvvealthe.

lique religion tovvchinge the vvealc publique.

But novv, if vve looke into certayne particuler commodities and helpes vvhich our religion bringeth vnto a common vvealthe, and vvhiche the religiõ of our aduersaries impugnethe and ouerthrovveth: vve shall easelie, see that permission of the Catholique, can not any vvay preiudicate the vvealepublique of any state. And for examples sake, vve vvill make our comparison in Englande it selfe, vvhere the practise and effect of bothe religiõs haue byn novv

Particuler differences betvvixt Catholique & protestant religion, for maintenance & continuance of the cõmon vvealthe.

experienced, and dyuers men yet alyue, that haue seene and proued the consequence of bothe, and can the easyer geeue iudgement of the comparison.

1. Restitution.

Firſt therfore, our religion teachethe actuall reſtitution of all goods vvhat ſo euer, ether vvrógfullye or deceatfullye gotten, or taken by might or iniurye. And it teachethe this reſtitutiõ in ſuche ſeuere manner, as no prieſt may abſolue anie man from his ſinnes duringe his lyfe, nor admitt him to any Sacrament, no nor at the extreame pointe of deathe it ſelfe, (vvhere not vvithſtandinge all other matters are releaſed) except he be content to make actuall reſtitution (accordinge to his abilitie) to the partie iniuryed: nether can anye mortall povver, or prelate of the Churche, diſpenſe in this point, vvhere the vvill of reſtitution is not, but that ſuche a one dyinge, is accounted a reprobate and damned perſon, and not to be praied for by our Churche, of vvhiche thinge doe enſevv tvvo greate commodities to the common vvealth.

Tvvo commodities of reſtitution.

Firſt that men knovvinge they muſt make this reſtitution againe, if euer they be able, are muche ſtaied from extortion, theſte, bryberye, vſerye, Simonie and the like offences, vvhiche temporall lavves of them ſelues can neuer thorovvghlie bridle. Secondlie that manie reſtitutiõs are made dailye to parties vvronged in our Churche, at leſte vviſe vvhen mẽ come to dye: & of this I could heere alleage bothe rare & marvelous examples.

But for the proteſtant, he troubleth hym ſelfe litle aboute this matter, nether hathe he

any meanes in deed to do the ſame (confeſſion beinge taken avvaie) and the practiſe is ſo ſtrange amongeſt them, as you ſhall reade in the ſtorye folovvinge, a good man puniſhed fovver yeres in the Tovver of London, for reſtoringe of tvventie povvndes for an other man after his deathe.

Secondlie our religion teacheth the obſeruatiō of vovves, that is, that vvhoeſo euer hathe made a vovv to God, of a thinge, honeſt, lavvfull and poſſible: is bounde to keepe it, accordinge as the ſcripture biddeth vs: *Vouete & reddite domino*: vovv and paye your vovves to God. Of vvhiche our churche inferrethe, that ſeinge our promiſſe to our neighboure, is alſo a kinde of vovv, vve are bounde in like ſorte to keepe that for cōſcience ſake: muche more then if vve ſtoode bounde to the ſame by obligation, and to make devve recompence and reſtitution, if vve breake the ſame. VVherof enſued ſuche faithfull and truſtie dealinges amongeſt our auncient forefathers. But novv the proteſtant teachinge, that vovves made to God may be broken, eche man inferrethe therof, if I maye breake a vovv to god, muche more a vvorde or promiſe to a man, and ſo vve ſee novv no promyſe or bargaytne kept but onlie for commoditie, & thare is no truſt to mens vvordes any longer.

2. Obſeruation of vovves.

Pſal. 75.

The conſequens of keepinge and breakinge of vovves.

Thyrdlye our religion vſethe the abſtinence of fleſhe and ſome other meates at certayne times and dayes, not condemninge the creatures, but forbearinge the vſe therof, for puniſhinge our bodies for more feruent ſeruinge of God, at certaine tymes more thē other: as i lent, frydaies,

3. Abſtinence from fleſhe.

Saterdayes, and other, as is appointed by our churche, vvhiche daies beinge in number very neere 160. that is, almoſt the one halfe of the yere, beſides the obſeruances of religious people, vvherof many neuer eate fleſhe at all, and beſides the particuler deuotions of infinite priuate perſõs vvhiche abſtaine at certaine other times: doo brynge an ineſtimable commoditie vnto a vvealepublique. For that fiſhe, herbes, frute, and the like, vvhiche Catholiques vppon theſe daies do vſe, do not any vvaye impouerifhe the lande, beinge taken the moſt parte from the vvater: But conſuminge of fleſhe dothe, beinge vvholye fed vppon the grounde, vvhiche fleſhe, by thes daies of abſtinence encreaſethe greatlie, eſſpeciallie aboute the ſpringe tyme, vvhen our lent fallethe out, at vvhat time, by the iudgemẽt of ſkilfull men, the forbearinge of fleſhe for thoſe onlie ſix vveekes, is ſufficient for the maintenance of all the yere after. And vvhat auaile this abſtinẽce bringethe to a kingdome in one yere, it maie be geſſed, if a man make but an eſtimate vvhat the fleſhe is vvorthe, vvhiche vvoulde maintaine all Englande one daie, and then double the ſame eight ſcore times in euerye yere, and conſider vvhat it vvill amounte to in fevvyeres.

The publique cõmoditie by abſtinẽce frõ fleſhe.

And novv, albeit the proteſtant (for polycies ſake onlie as he ſaithe) vvill ſeeme to commaunde the like abſtinence at ſome of thes daies: yet ſeynge it is but an externall puniſhment onlie, and no matter of conſcience to breake the princes lavve therin, as they affirme: hovve manye (trovvyou) vvill breake the ſame? or hovv ma-

nie protestantes them selues do obserue it: if you conuerse vvithe the preachers, you shall see them eate flesh e euerie daie, and inuite other men to do it, and iudge verie yuill of them, that vvyll not therin beare them companye. The temporall iudges also, vvhen in their lent circuite, thei publisshe this verie proclamation of abstinence, do eate openlye flesh e them selues. Hovv then shall the people obserue the same, vvhen they see bothe their Ecclesiasticall and temporall gouernours to do the contrarye? the trueth is, that the exacte obseruinge of this lavv amongest higher estates, is onlie in Catholiques, as also amongest the common people, except some poore protestant that can get no flesh e, and therby is constrayned to make of necessitie a vertue, for other vvise he vvill eate it euen in despite of the tyme. So that this commonvvealthe point dependeth onlye in deed of the Catholique parte. 4 Fastinge.

Fovverthlye our religion, besides this abstinēce aforesaide from flesh e, cōmaundethe also many of the same dayes to be kept in fast, to the number at least of a hundred euery yere in Englande. In vvhiche tymes there is but one meale to be made a daye, and the other to be spared, vvhiche one meale sauede beinge valued, but at alovv price thorough ovvt all the persōs aboue xvi yeres of age in Englande, (for after that tyme they are bounde to fast) amountethe to a greate summe of monye, and beinge doubled a hundred tymes euerie yere, arysethe to muche more, vvhiche greate summe is vtterlye lost by the protestant that fastethe not, and ys saued by the Catholiqus to the vvealpublique. VVhiche The sequel of fastinge.

difference albeit it be not felt presentlye in a greate state (for greate palaces shrincke not at the beginnynge vvithe litle chynkes:) yet in time it vvill shevv his effecte, vvhen greate multitudes of people shalbe by the same meanes of protestancie increased (as shalbe shevved in the next reason folovvynge) & the olde provision of the lande by litle & litle consumed, as alredie I thincke in parte vve see it fulfilled

5. Sole lyfe of clergye men.

Fifthlye our religion commaundethe continencie and sole lyfe to all clergie men, and to all sortes of religious people, vvhiche (to omitt all other respectes) profitethe greatlie the common vvealthe, and the libertie of marriage gyven by the protestante, bringeth infinite inconveniences. For first if vve make an estimate of the number vvhiche lyved vnmarryed in Catholique tymes in England, allovvinge to euery parishe churche but tvvo preistes, one vvithe an other, vvithe other temporall offices dependinge of the spirituslie, and therfore requiringe sole life: & if vve add to this, the greate numbers of all religious people, bothe men and vvomen in monasteries and other vvhere, vvhiche perhaps vvere tvvise as manye as the other: vve shall finde the number to arise verie greate, vvhiche all lyvinge then vnmaried and chast (or els shoulde haue donne) if vve novv allovv them to marye and accounte to euerye coople, but three or fovver children, and so consequentlye to their children, and childrens children: vve shall see that the encrease of people vvilbe huge in one age: and much more in manye ages follovvinge, vvhiche all beinge nourished

rished by the commō vvealthe, must needes pe-
ster greatlie the lande, vvithe mayne multitude
of people, and they, for the most parte ydle also
(for so are clergie mens children commonlye)
and consequentlye, muche empouerishe the
same:

Besides this, if vve consider the necessitie of
temporall prouisiō, cast vppon clergye men, by
their mariage, as to prouide first for the presēt
needes, and then for the tyme to comē as ioin-
ter, dovvrye, or some portion for the vvife, ly-
uinges for the children, and the like: vve shall
finde that they can neither keepe that hospitall-
tie for the poore, vvhiche vvas vvont, nor spa-
re the leases, copieholdes, and other offalles of
Ecclesiasticall lyuinges, to helpe other men, as
in times past vvas accustomed: and muche lesse
builde Colledges, Churches, and other suche
mounimentes of pietie, vvhiche their predeces-
sours have donne. Nay if the minister dye not,
and leave often a packe of orphanes vppon
the poore parishe, it is more tollerable, so that
vve see, that the mariage of the clergie men,
dyuers vvayes spoileth the poore commonaltie
and consequentlye impayrethe greatlye the
vvealpublique.

Sixthlye our religion prohibiteth landlor-
des to rayse their rentes, or anye other vvale to
presse their tenantes, except it vvere vppon so-
me greate cause and vvithe greate moderation,
knovven and allovved of by spirituall men &
learned diuines, and if they do it rashelie and
immoderatlie, our Churche dothe solemly on-
ce a yere accurse them. VVhiche vvas the cause

6 Rayinge of rentes.

Inthebulle de cæna domini, solemlye recited by the pope euerye yere on mãdy thursdaye, in the tytle, de pedagiis nouis non imponendis:

that our good foresathers in tymes past, and esspeciallie all religious men, vsed to let their landes at a reasonable rate: vvhereby infinite men vvere sustained and holpen, as appearethe by our Abbayes in tyme past in Englãde, the vvante vvhereof the poore countries vvhiche dvvell aboute them, do novv feele.

7 Deuorce mentes. Math. 19. 3. 6. 7. 8.

Seuenthlye our religion holdeth tovvchinge the state of mariage, that vvho so euer is once lavvfullye contracted in vvedlocke to an other, albeit they maie be vppon cause deuorced from compaininge one vvithe an other: yet can the bãde of mariage neuer be so broken, as either partye maie marye againe, duringe the others naturall lyfe. And therfore they must ether reconcyle them selues together againe, or els lyue chast. VVhiche is a brydell to manye mischeefes that must nedes ensevv vppon our aduersaries contrarie doctrine and practise in this matter, vvho allovve the diuorced to marye againe, the other partie yet lyuinge. VVhiche libertie layed open to maryed people, geuethe occasion of easie mislyke and diuorce betvvixt them, vppõ hope to marye agayne vvhere they like better, to the greate disturbance of common vvealthes in processe of tyme.

8 Of obedience to magistrates

Eightlie, our religion teachethe a pointe abovvt magistrates, vvhich greatlie concernethe the common vvealthe, and the contrarye doctrine of our aduersaries, is very muche hurt full and daungeruose vnto the same. The point is this. That vve teache all lavves of magistrates (be the magistrate good or euill) vvhiche are of thinges ether good, or indifferent, or not ex-

pressely against Gods commandement, doe binde the subiectes consciences to obedience, that is, the subiectes are bovvnde in conscience, to obey them not onlie externallye, but also in priuate and secrete, and to accounte it as a syn before God, if they vvillinglye breake the same, for that the magistrate vvhat soeuer, is Gods minister. VVerof it folovveth that the lavves of the cōmon vvealthe are obeyed trevvlie, & syncerelye, as vvell in secret as in open shevve, vvithe loue also, and vvithout grudge or contempt to the magistrate. Ro: 13.

But the protestant theachethe that no lavv of man byndeth the subiectes conscience to obedience, vvherof it muste needes follovv, that seinge the subiect obeyethe not of conscience but onelye for policie and in respect of externall punishement: vvhen so euer he is not in feare of that punishment, he vvithout scruple vvill contemne and breake that commaundement of his magistrate, as for example, he vvil eate fleshe in the lent, in suche places and companyes, vvhiche he is sure, vvill not accuse him, albeit the magistrates commaundement and proclamation be to the contrarie; and so in the lyke. VVhiche thinge is verye hurtfull & daungerous (as I haue saied) to the vveale publique. For besides the common breakinge of publique lavves in priuate, and secrete places, vvherby the magistrate grovvethe into contempt, & the state hurted: if at anie tyme the subiectes or any faction of them, shalbe so stronge and hardie, as not to feare the magistrates punishement, vvhat shall cause them anye longer to obey? Caluin: l. 4. insti. c. 10. num. 5.

This is also the cause vvhye the prince is so infinitely at this day deceaued in her custome of marchādise by all marchantes report.

a Dangerous sequel

Feare of punishment there is none: In conscience (by this doctrine) they are not bounde: vvhy then maie not they as vvell prescribe lavves to the magistrate, as he to them? In this pointe therfore, Catholique religion more vpholdethe the vvealepublique, then that of our aduersaries.

Of synne & concupiscence.

Ninthlye it is of no small importance vnto a Christian common vvealthe, (vvhose end is to keepe men vvithin the limites of vertue and honestie) that vvhiche our religion teachethe of the difference of synnes, and of the nature of concupiscence. For tovvchinge the first, as vve holde, that as some synnes are greeuons and mortall: so some are lighter, called veniall, that is, suche as of their nature and by rigour of iustice, deserue not eternall damnatiō, and expell not alvvaye grace, but may stande vvithe the same. Mortall vve call (for exāples sake) as to be droncke: veniall, to drincke a litle more then a man shoulde. Mortall, to geeue consent in a mans harte to an euill cogitation: veniall, to be negligent in expellinge the same, though he cōsent not.

Iaco. 1. 15.

Caluin. in antid. concil. Tri.

Our aduersaries holde that all synnes, be they neuer so litle, are mortall of their ovvne natures, and of them selues do deserue damnation. Secondlye tovvchinge concupiscence, vve holde, that in the regenerate, that is, in Christians after baptisme, the naturall inclination of lustinge, lefte in man, *ad agonem*, as the auncient fathers doe terme it, that is, to stryue vvithall, is not synne of it selfe, except vve geeue consent to the motion. Our aduersaries holde that the

Augu. li. 2. cont. Iuliā. & li. 1. de peccat. merit. c. vlt.

verye motion it selffe though no consent be geuen vnto it, is syn.

Of this diuersitie of doctrine flovvethe greate diuersitie of effectes into the common vvealthe. For ovvt of our doctrine ensuethe this, that seinge the naturall motion of concupiscence in me to euill, is not syn, except I yealde vnto it: I vvill striue against it, and not yelde consent, for sauinge of my soule. Againe, seinge there is a difference of synne, yf I should be caried avvaye a litle further then I ought: yet vvill I at least, striue to refrayne mortall syn vvithe all diligence, consideringe that this synne, bringeth damnation.

But out of our aduersaries contrarie doctryne, ensevveth in contraryvvise, that seinge concupiscence mouethe one vvhether he vvill or no, to matters vnlavvfull, as to adulterie, theft, murther, and the like: and seinge vvhether he consent or no, he hathe alredye synned by the verye naturall motion: againe, seinge all sinnes are mortall and none veniall: vvhat shall let him to consent to the motion, and to accomplisshe the same, at least in desire, seinge he can but syn mortallie, if he doe it, and so hathe he don alredye by the verie motion it selfe, vvhiche is not in his povver to staye. And by this meanes, seinge he must needes syn mortally vvhether he consent or not consent to the syn: vvho vvill not rather consent to the lust, vvithe pleasure, then stryue against the same vvithe greate payne, and yet to sinne neuer the lesse. And so this openethe an infinite gapp to syn & all leyvd lyfe, for that no mā vvill stryue aboute

that vvhiche he can not auoide, that is, abovvt the reſiſtance of mortall ſynne.

10. The reward of good, and euill and paynes for ſynne in this lyfe.

Tenthlie tovvchinge the revvarde of euill and good lyfe in the next vvorlde, and tovvchinge expiation of ſyn in this lyfe, our religion teacheth, that a mortall ſyn, beinge once committed after baptiſme, is not ſo ſoone diſpatched agayne, but beſides faithe, there is required firſt, hartie ſorovv vvithe full purpoſe never to commit the ſame againe. Then humble confeſſion of the ſame to the prieſt. Thirdlye, after the guylte of the ſynne remitted by the vertue of Chriſtes paſſion in the Sacrament of abſolution, there is required ſome temporall puniſhment and penance, for ſatiſfaction of godsiuſtice: the vvhiche if a man fulfill not in this lyfe, he muſt paye it in the next vvith muche more payne.

Contritiō.

Confeſſion

Satisfactiō.

Purgatorie

After this, vvhen he commethe to heauen, vve holde, that he ſhall receaue his degree of glorye accordinge to his perfection of life in this vvorlde, as alſo accordinge to his demerite and meaſure of vvickednes, he ſhall receaue the quantitie of his tormentes in hell, if he go thither. VVherof follovvethe bothe feare to commit ſyn, ſeinge a man muſt take ſuche paynes for the releaſe of the ſame in this vvorlde: as alſo diligence in all the three vvorkes ſatisfactorie, to vvitt, prayers, almes, and affliction of our ovvne bodies, for preuentinge the paynes of purgatorie. Alſo zeale of perfection in good men, ſeinge their degree in glorye ſhalbe accordinge to their life heere. And finallye, ſome ſtaye from ovvtrage in vvicked men, conſideringe

that their tormentes in hell shalbe but accordinge to the measure of their vvickednes.

But our aduersaries teachinge first, that there is no more payne to be taken for the expiation of synne committed after baptisme, but onlie to beleeue, vvhich is a verie easie poynte, especiallie to euerie man that vvill persvvade himselfe that he beleeuethe vvell: also teachinge that there is no place of purgation in the next lyfe, and that no vvorkes of satisfaction are heere needfull on our behalfe: thirdly teachinge, that all glorye is equall to all that are there, and all paine in hell as muche to the least offender as to the greatest: must needes open a gapp to an infinite sea of vvickednes, and licentiousenes in the common vvealthe. For euerye man persvvadinge himselfe, that hovv euill so euer he liue, yet if he holde a faithe in Christ, and beleeue he shall most certainelie be saued: that he, vvithout all paines ether in this life or in the life to come, shall presentlye goe to heauen, and there be in as greate glorye as Peter & Paule and other Sainctes, vvhiche led the straitest lyfe in this vvorlde. vvho vvill not let stande the painefull life of vertue, and take hisplea-sures, vvhiche naturall concupiscence inuiteth hym vnto, consideringe that he maie be saued as vvell vvithe them as vvithout? Againe vvhoe vvil spare (beinge once ouer the shoes) to runne in to any extremitie vvhat soeuer of vvickednes, vvhen he thinkethe that if he be damned, he must haue equall punishment vvithe the vvoorst?

Eleuenthlie as thes opinions of our ad-

11: VVorkes. Freevvill. & predestination

uersaries, are greate fovvntaines in deede to all kinde of libertie and loose behauiour, consideringe the mightie inclination of our corrupted fleshe to the same: so their doctrine abovvt vvorkes ad predestination, pluckethe vp by the verye rootes all foundation of good lyfe, beatethe dovvne the vvhole hedge of feare, and laiethe all open to most daungerous dissolution. For vvheras vve teache that albeit, all sainctes of God be predestinate before the vvoorldes vvere layed: yet that extinguishethe not the libertie of mans freevvill, but that he maie (beinge preuented and assisted by the grace of god) doe anie good vvoorkes or refuse them at his pleasure. VVhiche good vvoorkes beinge don for the loue of god, by a man that is in the state of grace, haue their revvarde and merit, euen to the least cuppe of vvater that a man can geeue, vvhiche is a greate pricke to incite men to the same, vsed by the holye Scriptures them selues.

Eccl. 15: Luc. 13. Apoc. 3.

Math. 5. & 10. & 12. Heb. 13.

But our aduersaries teachinge first that a man hathe no free vvill to thes thinges, and secondlie that if he doe them he shall haue no revvarde for them in heauen: musses needes vtterlie discourage all men from the doinge of good vvoorckes. For vvhoe vvill studie aboute a thinge that is nether in his povver, nor yet necessarie or profitable vnto him: especiallye vvhen the thinge is bothe harde of it selfe, vnpleasant, and muche repugninge to our sensualitie? vvho vvill geeue his goodes to the poore? his landes from his ovvne kinred, to builde hospitals and colledges for straungers? vvhoe

vvill afflict his bodie vvithe faſtinge and praier, vvhen he knovveth that he ſhall receaue no revvarde therfore in heauen? and that vvithout doinge the ſame he maye be ſaued by onlye faithe?

Tvvelfthlie and laſtlie (for I vvill tovvche no more,) our Catholique religion teacheth priuate cõfeſſiõ of our ſinnes vnto the pryeſt vvhich thinge is the verie hedge and vvall of all vertuous life, and the cheefeſt bridle of Lycentiouſnes in a cõmon vvealthe. For by this, infinite enormities are redreſſed, vvhiche by publique lavves can not be remedied. In confeſſion manye ſeruantes are made truſtie to their maſters, vviche before vvere falſe, and they are cauſed to make priuie reſtitution of manie thinges, vvhē their maſters thynke not of it. Manye greate breaches betvvixt frindes, as vvife and huſbande, father and ſonne, and the like, are ſalued. Manye greate miſchifes intended ether againſt the magiſtrate, priuate perſõs, or the common vvealthe, are ſtaied. Many provde harte plucked dovvne and abated vvithe the exaggarations of his ſynnes to his face, by his ghoſtlye father. Many greatte ſynners brought to harte repentance, and full purpoſe of amendemēt, and to promiſe alſo, and ſometimes and in ſome caſes to ſvveare, neuer to commit vvittinglye and vvilloinglye the like enormities againe. Many afflicted perſons comforted vvithe particuler helpes for their greafes: manye deſperate ſoſckes mollified, and inſtructed in the vvayes of a nevv life. Manye Landlordes and ſuperiours, brought to deale more

12. Priuate confeſſion.

Vtilities of confeſſion.

mildly vvithe their ſubiectes, and manye ſubiectes, to behaue them ſelues more obedientlie and dewtifullie towards their ſuperiours: many reſtitutions made, many vvronges recompenſed, many quarels ended: finallie, it is impoſſible to number vpp the infinite and ſinguler greate commodities vvhiche doe come to mans life, and conſequentlye to the common vvealthe, by this ſpirituall courte & tribunall of God in earthe, that is, by confeſſion.

The vvhiche beinge taken avvaye, as it is novv by our aduerſaries in Englande, (albeit Lutherans in Germanie yet vſe it,) there muſt needes followve in ſucceſſe of tyme, intollerable inconueniences. For vvhat vvaye is there novv to deale vvithe the conſcience of a childe if he be diſobedient to his parentes? Or vvithe a ſeruant, if he be falſe or prodigall to his maſter: if you accuſe him, he vvill denye it: if you vrge him, he vvill fall out vvithe you for it: but if him ſelfe ſhoulde confeſſe it to you, as he vvas vvonte to doe to his ghoſtlie father, aſkinge abſolution at his handes, and pardon at Gods for the ſame: there is offered bothe fitt place & occaſion, to entreate vvithe him for it: and he in diſpoſition to heare good councell.

So if a prince or greate perſonage, abuſe him ſelffe in life, vvho vvill dare to tell him euerye fault in particuler, or rebuke him for the ſame? If a man (for examples ſake) doe exceede in apparell, or other vanitie, vvho vvill goe and reprehende him for it, or vvithe vvhat hope of amendment? To conclude, this holye exerciſe of confeſſion beinge taken avvaie, the verye

locke of good lyfe(vvherof not onlie the sovvle but also the vveale publique dependethe) is vtterlye burst and remoued from amongest Christians.

Thes differences therfore beinge betvvixt our religion and that of our aduersaries,(right honorable)tovvchinge the maintenance, continuance,vvell doinge,and secure establishemēt of a common vvealthe: there appearethe no reasō in policie,that is,in respecte of the good estate of our countrie,(vvherof your honours haue the charge) vvhiche may prohibite your vvisedomes to shevv some more fauorable tolleration to the Catholique parte, if it might please God to instill so good and gratious a motion into your hartes.

Nether is it for anye of our aduersaries to stepp vp heere,and to impugne any of our former opinions in religion, (as they are vvont commonlye to eschevv the matter in hande,and to deale vvith impertinent pointes not intended in that place):for my purpose is not heere to handle matters of controuersie,vvhiche vve bothe offer dailye & desyer muche to trye vvithe our aduersaries at other tymes ether in vvritinge or publique disputation : but my onlye meaninge is, to shevv, that the practise of our doctrine as vve holde it,and of our aduersaries as they teache it, vvhether it be trevv or false, (vvhiche at other tymes and places is to be discussed):of ours(I saie)doe follovv infinite vtilities to a Christian commō vvealthe,vvhiche doe not from the doctrine of our aduersaries , but rather the cleane contrarye hurtes and dama-

an obiectiō preuented. So D. fulke hathe answvered M. hovvlets reasons of refusall. Grauntinge the reasōs as they lye, but yet quarelinge at some matter of controuersie in the reason.

ges, and this is the state of our question in this place, vvhiche I leaue open to anie of our aduersaries that can, to improue by reason, in the points before recited.

The kinge of Bungo in Iapan beinge a heathen ha the permitted & protected the catholique religion in his countries thes 28. yeres onlye for the commoditie he feethe his commonvvealthe to receaue thereof, in ep. Indic: the like dothe the greate Turcke and other Princes of Mahometes secte at this daye.

Nowv then, if our religion and the secret exercise therof, be in no vvise hurtfull vnto your common vvealthe, (right honorable) but rather doe bringe greate commodities therunto: it maie be one motyue vnto your vvisdomes (as it hathe byn, and is to some other councellers els vvhere of the contrary religion) to tollerate more, or at least, to shevv lesse extremitie against the same, hovve muche so euer you thinke vs deceaued in not conforminge our selues to the protestantes religion. Albeit to saye myne opinion also herein, vvithe your honorable sauours, I can not thincke but that your vvisdomes beinge suche as they are, bothe greate and grovvnded, doe easelye see that our standinge in this pointe, is not vvithout substantiall cause and reason in vs, albeit not sufficient to moue your honours to the same opinion that vve are of.

The procedinge of ministers vvithe vs.

For first vvhoe dothe not see that the verie proceedinge of our aduersaries is a stronge reason to make vs staie, if there vvere nothinge els, vvhoe dare not admit anye equall triall, of their cause, nether in vvritinge, preachinges, or lavvfull disputation, they beinge so often requested by vs to the same: But are alvvaies at your honours elbovves to sturre vpp the temporall svvoorde against vs, If vve make anie reasonable offer, or neuer so orderlie and devvtifull attempt, for the obtaininge of this

thinge, euen at home vppon their owne grovnde (for abrode they dare not apeare vvith neuer so muche securitie or curtesie inuited) to our owne greate toyle, labour, daunger, and disaduantage of our cause? And yet they are not ashamed for some colour of the matter, to creepe into a prison to some poore man miserablye racked, or otherwise pitifullie handled before, and there vvithout geeuinge the partie any vvarninge or tyme to forethincke him selfe, or allovvinge anie bookes, or permittinge equall notaries, or sufferinge hym to oppose one argument for his parte, to assault vvith iumpinge interrogations, leapinge from pointe to pointe, from matter to matter, accordinge as they came prepared, or as anye litle shevve of aduantage vvas offered, vvith greate vvoordes, stearne countenance, bygg voyce, muche threatninge, and vnciuille reuilinge.

Such vvas the disputation in the tovver vvith. M. campian & others vvher men vvere prohibited vvith billes & tipstaues to enter. And many a knock on the head receaued for offerige to heare: and muche mony giuen to geate places.

VVhich proceedinge of theirs, declaringe manifestlie their feate and nakednes and vtter vvante both of trueth charitie and modestie: must needes in the iudgementes of all vvise men, dispute as muche for vs, as any argument in the vvorlde that vve can make for our selues.

The vncertaintie of temporall fauour in matters of religion.

Secondlye, hovv cleare so euer the matter be made against vs, in vvordes, and ordinarie speech of men, as that vve resist the Ghospell and manifest vvoorde of god, and the lyke: yet your honours can not but thinke, that these speeches (vvhen all indifferent triall is refused) can not moue vs muche, especiallye seeinge that in other contries, vvhere other sectes doe raigne, no lesse differinge from vs, then this of

Caluine, they do orderlye saie the verie same of our Englishe protestantes, vvhich they doe of vs, vvherin I refer my selfe to a Lutherā Superintendents booke, intituled, *Confessio pure doctrinæ Euangelicæ. A confession of the pure doctrine of the ghospell.* vvhere he geueth sentence (as a bisshoppe) of the doctrine novv taught in Englande, by this vvorde *Damnamus: vve condemne it as dissonant from the pure ghospell.* And I haue shevved ovvt of luther before, vvhere he saieth of the teachers and maintainers therof, *Hæreticos fore censemus, & alienos ab Ecclesia dei.* VVe doe censure them in earnest for heretikes, and remoued from the church of god. The like doe Anabaptistes, Trinitaries, and other sectes pronounce of them. So that in this common phrase and speeche of pure ghospell, there is litle importance that tovvcheth the matter.

Nicolaus Amsfor di⁹

art. 28. contra Iouian. to. 2. vvittē. fo. 503.

And surely, if after kinge henryes death the noble man vvhich thē could doe most, consultinge vvith his frindes to bringe in a nevv religion, had pleased to bringe in, tovv Lutherans, Anabaptistes, or of any other secte, as he did tvvo Caluinistes, to reade in the tvvo vniuersities of Englande (as he might very easelye haue donne, for any resistāce or triall that then vvas vsed:) had not that religiō byn novv called the ghospell, the pure vvorde, the lavv of the lorde, the established religion, and the like, as novv this is called in Englāde, and as thes other sectes are called by their professors in the places vvhere they beare rule? And should not vve haue byn punished as muche for resistinge of them, as vve are novv for resistinge this? yet

P. Martyr. M. Bucer.

verelye and no reason to the contrary.

VVherfore seinge a man may not alvvayes depende safelye of the seculer magistrate in religion, nor make repose of his sovvle, vppon the fovvndation of a temporall lavv: vve are in iustice to crave pardon of your honours, for not conforminge our opinions to yours in this matter: vve can not doe it vvithout dissimulation and most greevouse remorse of an accusinge conscience. Yf your honours vvoulde graunte suche indifferent triall betvvixt the learned of bothe our sydes, as vve demaunde for our instruction and devv reformation in iudgement, if vve err: the matter perhaps might sone be ended: But that beinge denied, and the aduerse partye shevvinge manifest distrust therby, as it semeth to vs: vve remaine as before, of contrarye opinion in poyntes of beleefe: but in all other matters as becommeth devvtifull subiectes, most readie to serue her maiestie & your honours, to the vttermost of all our earthlye & mortall abilitie.

The petitiō of lavv full disputation reserved.

Our desyre vve haue to be rightlye informed, may appeare, not only by our often and earnest petitions of lavvfull tryall in poyntes of controuersie: but also by this, that vve require not anye longe or tediouse satisfaction in matters, but onlye a demōstration of one necessarye pointe, vvherof our resolution in other thinges vvoolde soone ensevve.

And this pointe is, that seinge the religion of Christ and his Apostles, vvas (by all partyes confession) the verie trevv religion for vvhich vve stryue, and vvherby vve must be saued, and

so for a hundred or two hundred yeres after, without contradiction of either partie, the religion was pure which was deliuered by the Christian churche ouer all the worlde: lett demonstration be made, which of our religions beganne sence that tyme (for that must needes be false, hauinge not his beginninge from Christ and his Apostles,) and this maie be don (as it semeth to vs) bothe easely, apparentlye, and sensiblye in this manner.

An easye, short, and euident waie offered of tryall:

When anie religion is once publiquelye planted and receaued, as the trew religion was by our aduersaries confession, in the first two or three hundred yeres after Christ: it is impossible to bringe in a newe religion contrary to that, or any articles of faithe repugnant to these before, without some cõtradiction or resistãce of them that then lyued, possessed in the former religion. This is a proposition euident bothe by experience and reason. For first, reason teacheth vs to be impossible, for one man or manye, to bringe in a newe religion, contrarie to all, and to make it to be receaued generallie of all, without resistance of some, especiallie the thinge beinge a manifest falshoode touchinge matter of saluation, as they saye our opinions are. This (I saye) is impossible in common reason. For if one citie would receaue it, yet an other would not: if one countrye or kyngdome would allowe it, yet an other would make resistance, at least wise for a tyme. And if no Citie nor countrye nor kyngdome had controlled it, yet some good man or other would haue donne it in the worlde abrode. Secondlye the same appeareth the

Reason.

experience

rethe by experience, for that there vvas neuer yet hereſie or error that roſe againſt any one clauſe or iote of the truethe before receaued, but it vvas controlled preſently and reſiſted by voices and vvritinges of infinite men. And in Englande beinge but a litle corner in reſpect of the vvhole vvorlde there coulde neuer yet appeare anye one opinion contrary to the doctrine before receaued, but it vvas ſtraight vvaie noted and rebuked: as the religion of Caluine, by the Catholiques before in poſſeſſion: after that, the fanſie of the puritane by the proteſtant: after that, the deuiſe of the familie of loue, by bothe proteſtant and puritane: and generally there vvas neuer yet hereſye offered to the church, or to any peece of the ſame, but that it vvas ſtraight vvaie knovven, vvhoe vvere the beginners therof, at vvhat tyme, vvhat multitude firſt left the former religion and followed the ſame, vvhoe reſiſted, vvhoe ſpake and vvrote againſt it, and the like: and this is a treuvth more cleare than the Sonne it ſelfe.

This then beinge ſo, the iſſevv vvhiche vve deſyre to ioyne, is euident and plaine: to vvitt, that of theſe articles vvherin vve diſſent from them, and vvhiche they call hereſyes, as inuented by vs ſence the Apoſtles tyme: as the reall preſence, the ſacrifice of the maſſe, purgatorye, prayer for the dead, interceſſion of ſayntes, meritt of good vvoorckes, grace inherent, fyue ſacramentes denyed by them, and the like: let thē ſhevve by anie one father, hiſtoriographer, or other autēticall teſtimonie, vvhen any of theſe pointes vvere brought firſt into the churche

A verye reaſonable iſſue offered.

and resisted by them that then lyued, (as they must needes be if they vvere contrary to the vniuersall doctrine then receaued in christianitie) and vve remayne satisfied vvithout any furder particuler tryall.

This is a most reasonable demaunde, soone aunsvvered if the trevvth be vvith our aduersaries. For vve take vppon vs to shevv all thes particulers before recited in euery pointe of doctrine vvherin they differ from vs: that is, vvhen it began to be first knovvē in the church by vvhat man, vvho first controlled it, and the like: but let them doe the same by vs, and the matter is ended.

But if they can finde no one booke extant in the vvorlde against anie article of our difference from them, at the first commynge of the same into the church, nor can finde recorde of anye man that ether reprehended or controlled it vvhen it vvas first inuented (as they saye) by our forefathers, but that it vvas receaued vvithe silence and approbation, not onlye in one countrye, but thoroughovvt the vvorlde, not in one pointe, but in many, and they most important: as for example, the fayninge of fyue sacramentes together, (although vve holde in our doctrine that none but Christ can institute a sacrament, no not the vvhole churche together, nor all the Apostles vvhen they vvere alyue), if (I saie) they can finde no recorde at all, that any man resisted or controlled thes horrible & blasphemous poyntes at their first entringe into the churche, (if it be trevv that they entred in since the Apostles tyme) then must thei thincke that

men vvere senseles and madd at that time, that vvoolde suffer so manye, so grosse, & so important heresies, to passe vnchecked, and neuer to open their mouthes against them, vvheras at the verye same tyme, (that is, vvithin the first fyue hundred yeres after Christ, vvherin our aduersaries graunte thes heresies to haue bene crept in to the churche) the fathers and doctors that then lyued, vvrote most diligentlye against euerie other litle error that appeared. But novv vvhether it be reasonable to thinke so of those holye learned and vigilant men or els to thinke our aduersaries some vvhat shameles, in charginge them vvithe suche absurdities, I leaue to the indifferent reader to consider.

And thus muche haue I bene bolde to laye dovvne to your vvisedomes, right honorable, both for the innocencie of our cause, the equitie of our demaunde, the reason of our offer, and the easie meanes of our satisfaction, if our aduersaries vvoolde agree to the same. VVhich all tendeth onlye to this end (as your honours right vvell can discerne) to mitigate the greate offence conceaued against vs, and consequentlie some parte of that extreame rigour vsed tovvardes vs and our cause of later dayes, vvhich beinge such, as in verie deed is intollerable: vve are constrained to make recourse to your honours to vvhome of devv our protection appertaineth. and to doe, as a certaine afflicted man did vvith an Emperour in times past, that is, to appeale from your selues vnto your selues: from your selues, as offended by the instigation of our aduersaries: vnto your selues, mollified

vvith our iuſt defence and innocencie in crymes obiected.

If by the rackinges, ſtretchinges, vvreſtinges, and dreadfull tortures, vſed ſo often and to ſo many of our innocent afflicted brethren, and that in ſo rigourous & mercileſſe manner, there hath bene any one thinge vvrounge out from them, of treaſon, conſpiracie, or practiſes againſt the ſtate, vvhervvith our aduerſaries, vvithout conſcience, do vſe dailye to accuſe vs in their bookes and ſermons, therby to ſturre her maieſtie and your honours againſt vs: lett the partie guyltie be punished openly, vvith infamie alſo to our vvhole cauſe, albeit in this later, vve offer more than reaſon. But if after all this adoe, after all this fierſe halinge, and pitifull pullinge of mẽ in peeces, nothinge hath bene founde at all, no one act, no vvorde, no cogitation of ſuche matters, but onlye innocencie and Zeale of religion in the tormented: then is our caſe muche more hard at home, in our ovvne countrye, vnder our ovvne Soueraigne, than it could be any vvhere els vnder the extremeſt aduerſaries of our religion in the vvorlde.

For I knovv your honours can not but conſider, that the greateſt enimyes of Chriſtianitie this daie liuinge, as thoſe of the ſecte of Mahomet, and many gẽtles beſydes, ar ſo far of, from tormentynge Catholiques, as they permit vnto them the libertie and exerciſe of their cõſcience, in reſpect of the antiquitie and continuance therof. For vvhich cauſe alſo, the moſt of Chriſtian princes, do tollerate vvithe the verie levves: and ſuche as poſſeſſe the Indes and

other places, vvhere gentiles inhabite, neuer vse to moleste, and muche lesse to torment them for their consciences, vvherī they vvere borne and bredd vp: for that, faithe beinge the guifte of God, and comminge by hearinge (as the scripture saiethe) is not to be put in by tormentes & persecution. Rom. 12. Rom. 10.

Pitifull then and compassionable is our case (right honorable): if, of all other men, vve finde lesse rest and most extremitie, and that also there, and from those, vvhere, and from vvhome, manie greate considerations shoulde yealde vs hope of fauoure and mercie. No protestant prince of any other countrie did euer vse the like: and it is quyte contrarie both to the preachinges and protestations of all those of that religion in other places, as also of our aduersaries in Englande, before they came to beare rule them selues.

Alas (my Lordes) vvhat impelleth your vvisdomes (for of nature I can not thincke you sofiers & pityles) to exercise suche extremitie vpon poore people for that cause, vvherof your owne fathers vvere as guyltie as vve are, that is, for our conscience in the auncient religion? If you meane to vvine mē therby to your opinió, it is the cleane contrarie course, as I haue shevved. If you thinke by terrour to make those desist, vvhich of meere zeale after the apostolique manner doe offer them selues to daunger for maintenance of that faithe: you knovv the vvise counsaile of honorable Gamaliel: if it be of man, it vvill sone be dispatched: but if it be of God, humane terrour can not lett it, as hitherto Act. 5.

I am sure it dothe greatlie increase it.

Your honours haue procured libertie of conscience for those of your religion in some other countries, vvhich must proceede (as vve interpret) from a mercifull disposition tovvardes the afflicted, and that mens consciences are not to be constrained.

VVe beseeche your Lordships then, that vve your poore afflicted subiectes, maye tast some parte of that your honorable disposition, vvherof straungers doe receaue so greate releefe and comforte.

Consider (my good lordes.) in most humble manner I desire and requeste it, vvhat the end of all thes straininges, and most rigourous procedinges can arriue vnto. In respect of the vvorlde, (I must speake playnelye) it can be nether honorable nor profitable, nor of anye secure cõtinuance, beinge subiect to infinite horrour, obloquie, grudge, and hatred, as also to diuers breaches and most daungerous vvoundes, as all extremities are vvonte to be. And in respect of God, hovv it is to be liked, ethe man maie geesse vvhiche readeth the scriptures, detestinge euerye vvhere all mercilesse procedinge of mortall men vvith their brethren, and commendinge, most carefullie, compassion one tovvardes the other, vvith greeuous threates to them that vse the contrarie.

Remember (right honorable), that hovv different so euer our degrees be in this vvorlde, yet must vve all be equall before the common iudge, at the later daie, and all those afflicted persons, these tormẽted, these imprisoned, these

impouerished, these poore men, vvomen children, and seruauntes, vvhich lye novv in miserie by your meanes ether lurkinge in corners or driuen from place to place, not daringe to appeare or shevv their countenance before your Lordships, must standby you vvithout feare at that daie, to geeue in euidence of thinges passed against them.

Good Lorde, vvhat comfort can it be to any of your honours, at the daie vvhen you must depart this vvorlde, to haue vsed suche rigour, to your ovvne flesshe and bloode, for matter of conscience, vvhich you haue not don to any other most impious, haynous, or detestable malefactor. VVhat good or cõforte can the tormẽted members of your brethren, the stretched veines, the broken synovves, the dismembred iointes, the rented bovvels of your countrye mẽ, of your ovvne quiet subiectes, of most peaceable, modest, and innocent priests yelde vnto your soules at that daye? you must your selues crye for mercye in that dreadfull hovver, to hym vvhome these men, ether in trevvth, or in opinion do serue, and vvhy than may not vve aske some mercye at your honours handes novv, at the least, from thes horrible and seruile tormentes, vvhich Christian and ciuill hartes doe detest to thinke on? VVhat good can thes outragious meanes vvorke anye vvay vnto your cause, or vvhen you be dead, vvhat honour, estimation, loue, or securitie, can the eternall memorie of thes extreame dealinges, pourchasse vnto your posteritie.

The cause beinge gods, as vve presume: if all

the earth shoulde rise against vs, vve may not geeue ouer, nor once shrincke in the confession and professiõ of this faith, though all vvrath of man vnder the cope of heauen shoulde rage and vvax tempestuous. For that hauinge but one lyfe to yelde: vve knovve the vttermost that can be donne vnto vs. And if our tormenters vvoulde deferre the same, by longe, and often, and slovv tortures, to feede vppon our paines, as they seeme to doe: yet, at the last, they can afflicte vs no longer, than our breath vvill holde in: and finallie, the matter must haue an end, and both they and vve be transposed to a nevv iudgment seate, vvhere matters must be nevv trauerst agayne, and nevv sentence geeuen, & nevv
Apoc. 18. tortures appointed, of other qualitie and continuance, than thes former vvere. At vvhat time, if vve suffer in a good cause, (as vve persvvade our selues vve doe) all our teares shalbe vvyped avvaye by our sauiour him selfe, all our molestations appeased, all our penuries releeued, all our paines assvvaged, all our racked members
Apoc. 21. restled, all our disperssed bovveles restored againe, and vve placed ovvt of all feare, sorovv, & affliction, for the time to come.

In respect vvherof, and especiallye in consideration of the infinite paines and tormentes, vvhich our svveete Sauiour suffered for vs: vve are content to beare both this, and vvhat so euer further affliction, his holye hande shall please to lay vppon vs, beinge sorye that vve haue not moe lyues than one, to leese in this his cause: for a thovvsande in eche man, can not be aunsvverable to his one deathe for vs, nor to

his greate loue and diuyne conſolation, vvhere vvith he aſſiſteth dayely, and confortethe the hartes and ſpirites of our afflicted brethren, euen in the middeſt of their greateſt tortures, penuries, and miſerable calamities.

VVherfore, to conclude this vvofull matter, vvithout any further tediouſnes vnto your honours, vve are in all humilitie and devvtifull ſubmiſſion, to beſeeche and obteſt your moſt honorable aſſemblye, euen for the loue of our Sauegure, in reſpect of our cauſe (vvhich vve proteſt before his diuine maieſtie to be onlye our conſcience in religion, and not any euill meaninge tovvardes his miniſter, our ſoueraygne): that you vvill at length take notice of our diſtreſſes, conſideration of our calamities, and finallie, ſome mercifull inclination, tovvards our afflictions. VVhich if your honours doe, hovv ſo euer othervviſe you thinke vs amiſſe, in our cauſe of conſcience: yet, no doubt but you ſhall receaue the revvarde devv to mercie and clemencie, both from God & the vvorlde. But if this our ſupplication of mercie, finde no mercye, nor place at all: yet ſhall not vve ceaſe to pray ſtil for your honours, confortinge our ſelues vvith the hope onlye of Gods mercie, vvhen man forſaketh vs, and alſo vvith this cogitatiõ, that your Lordſhips are nether the firſt, nor the greateſt, nor ſhalbe the laſt vvhich ſhall perſecute this faith, & churche, for vvhich vve ſuffer. And hovv ſo euer the matter doe paſſe for our lyues and tymes, (vvherof vve make no greate accounte): yet our poſteritie ſhall ſee, (as our auncеſtours haue ſeene before) that men

The concluſion.

doe alter, passe and fade, and their cogitations come to chaungeable and vnexpected euentes, but the trevvth of our Lorde endureth for euer.

Psal. 116.

Your honours humble oratour and vnfavned hartie Beadesman.

G. T.

AN EPISTLE TOVVCHINGE THE PERSECVTION OF CATHOLICKES IN ENGLANDE.

To his verie louinge frinde. M. Gerarde at Bononie in Italie.

I Haue receaued diuers and sundrye your lettres (my deare frinde) and all to lyke effecte and purpose. For you requyre moſt erneſtlie at my handes, that I ſhoulde ſignifie to you the certaintie of our Engliſhe perſecution vppon Catholickes, wherof you ſaye there is a greate brute with you, but yet dyuerſlye reported, and of no conſtant credite. Marye, to me you thinke it an eaſie matter, to write the verye trewth and the certaintie of thinges: for that I lye neere to the place where they are donne, and may learne dailye bothe by lettres and reports of ſuche as come thence, how they paſſe. The which thinge albeit I ſhoulde graunte, (for in deed I lye neere and doe at-

tende with ſome diligence, bothe what is writen, or reported from thence:) yet whether I may put downe the ſame in writinge, and imparte it to our frindes there, moſt deſyrous of the ſame (as you ſaye) eſpeciallie withe the intēt it ſhould be made publique: I can hardlye reſolue my ſelfe. For you are not ignorant what a perylous point it is, to complayne of iniuries receaued from the mightie, whoſe faſhiō is, not to pmitt free the wailinges of the afflicted, but rather to take reuenge of the very complaintes which are made of their doinges.

VVherfore leſte I ſhoulde hurte them whome I vviſhe beſt vnto, and by recounting their calamities, encreaſe the ſame, which I would rather eaſe if I coulde, though it were with the daunger of myne owne lyfe: I reſt verie doutfull, not knowinge well what were beſt to determine. And yet, to ſay the trevvthe, I muſt confeſſe, that I finde inclination in my ſelfe to the ſatiſfyinge of your demaunde, both for that the thinge ſemethe iuſt, which you aſke, and alſo the reaſons by you alleaged, ſufficient to defend it from all cauill of the enemye. For thus you reaſon:

vvhat? is it not lawfull to committ to priuate lettres that which is openlye and publiquelye donne? and if they wold make this a fault: yet is it onlye your fault, not to be layed vppon the poore men alreadye in affliction: punishable vppon you, and not vppon them.

VVhich reason of yours beinge také in deed from the verye sense of nature her selfe, encourageth me much to satisfie your demaunde, seinge that the wisedome of our aduersaries ought to yelde vs this hope, (for they are not vnwise accordinge to flesh & blood) that they will not attribute other mens offences, (if it be an offence) to suche as are innocent of the same, albeit trewly my endeuour shalbe so to write eche thinge as (by their owne iudgements) I may not offende. For I will speake nothinge odiouslye, nothinge bitterlye, but I will declare what hath beene donne: & yf the rigour of the matter dryue me at anye time into complaint: it shalbe without the reproche of any man.

For I deeme it not the parte of Catholikes to recompence iniurie with iniurye, or to requyte iniustice with acer- The parte of Catholiques.

bitie of speche. For that we haue a mercifull and mightie lorde to whose onlye arbitrement all iniuries, are to be referred:

1. Pet. 5. Rom. 12. *he hath care of vs,* (as the scripture saith,) *to him let vs leaue reuenge. He him selff vvill*

Psal. 42. *repaye: he vvill discerne our cause: he vvill deli-*

Psal. 74. *uer vs from the vnholye nation, frō the vniust & guyleſull man:* he, when time shalbe, *vvill sit in iudgemēt vppon* [our] *iustice it selfe,* & how muche more vppō the vniuſt pſecutions, molestatiōs, & vexatiōs of his seruātes.

In the meane space if we be afflicted, if we be trodden downe, if we suffer the spoyle of our worldlye goodes, if we be subiect to reproches, if we be presſed with prisons, if we be tyed with chaines, if we pyne awaie with hunger, colde, and want of necessaries, if we be whipped and burned in the eares as roags, if we be drawen hanged and quartered alyue, if we be consumed with diuers kindes of deathes. (for all thes thinges Catholiques in England do sustaine:) and if, (which is a matter yet of more greefe,) we sustaine thes thinges in the middeſt of our brethren, in sight and hearinge of other Catholiques rownde about vs, they lookinge on, and takinge litle compassion of our

caſe, nor helpinge vs with their worde, when as perhaps they may: yet muſt not we be diſcouraged, nor forſake the holſome anchor of patience. *For vve are not* (as the ſcirpture ſaith) *better then our fathers vvhich vvere hevved in peeces, racked, vvhipped, and impriſoned.* And the Apoſtle addeth one thinge which I wolde haue you to marcke: *and thes men* (ſaieth he) *receaued no redemption:* (that is, no eaſe of their afflictions in this lyffe) *to the end they might finde a better reſurrection.* VVe beinge Scholers are not aboue our maiſter, *vvhoe doinge no iniuſtice in the vvorlde, yet vvas reputed amongeſt the vvicked*, and ſuffered muche more crueltie for our ſakes, and yet did not he open his mouthe as the ſcripture ſaithe before his perſecuters.

4 Re. 19. Heb. 11.

Luc. 6. 1. Pet. 2.

Eſa. 53. Luc. 22. Eſa. 53.

Let vs then retaine ſtill this auncíet poſſeſſion of holye ſufferance, commended vnto vs by our ſaueour and conſerued by our forefathers. Let vs leaue vnto our aduerſaries, that diſloyall kinde of reuenge, wherby they are woont to reſiſt magiſtrates to ſturre vp ſedition, and wherby in thes our dayes they haue deſtroied partlye by violence and partlye by ſecret fraude, ſo manye noble men,

The properte of heretikes.

Rom. 9. Ep. Iud.

valeant capitaines, Holye prieſtes, ſtronge cities, and moſt noble and renowmed
Hier.17. common wealthes and ſtates. Let them
2. Cor.3. vſe the arme of mā, let them truſt in their craft and ſubtiltie of witt, let them feede
Eph.4. of wickednes as muche as they liſt, *our hope*
Pſal.61. *is in god our lorde, whoe will ſaue them that*
16.113. *hope in him: all our healpe is in the name of our lorde, who made heauen and earth, and forget-*
Pſal.45. *teth not our powertie and tribulation.* It maie pleaſe his diuyne maieſtie, perhaps, to de liuer vs ouer to be chaſtened for our ſyn-
Pſal. 98. nes, *for that the kinges honour louethe iudgmēt.* But certes he will not caſt vs awaie, if we repent our ſynnes, and returne vnto hym,
Pſal. 43. *for that he is mercifull, and full of mercie, and*
7. 140. *there is no number of his mercyfull doynges.*
144. VVhat could be ſpoken by him more expreſſelye than this?

Pſa.88. *If his children forſake my lawe (ſaieth he of Dauid) & ſhall not walke in my iudgemen-*
tes if they ſhall prophane my iuſtice, and ſhall
not keepe my commaundementes:
I will viſit with the rodd their iniquities, and
their ſinnes with whippes:
But yet I will not take my mercye from them,
neither will I hurt them in my trewth.
I will not prophane my teſtamēt, nor make fru-

ſtrate

strate the vvordes, vvhich haue passed from my owne lyppes.

I haue once svvorne in my holye, I vvill not lye, to Dauid, his seede shall remayne for euer and euer.

This is the promisse, this is the firme protestation of god, to the seede of Dauid, that is, to the Catholique churche of Christ, towchinge her euerlastinge continuance, made by an othe, confirmed by his bloode, and establisshed by the experience of manye ages. VVherefore we must not dispaire but confidentlie endure, *for vvhoe so euer indureth our lorde, shall neuer be confounded. And if he do staie some vvhat longe, yet let vs expect him, for that cōminge he vvill come, & vvill not forslovve it.* Psal. 24. Abac. 3.

To this tollerāce of aduersitie, when we in this our banishement for religion, doe often cohort one an other for our comfort: there is nothinge which we can propose more forcible, ether for our cōsolatiō or imitatiō, thē the sufferinges of our deare bethren in England, so muche more greeuous and sharper then ours, by how muche the woundes doe more afflict, which are felt in a mans owne bodie, then those whiche are made vppon

externall temporalties. I meane that we whoe flyinge the handes of our perſecutours, doe leade a baniſhed life in ſtrãge countries, albeit we are beſett with manie incommodities, thorough lacke of our countrie and domeſticall frindes, and by the loſſe of our goodes and poſſeſſions at home: yet we enioie the libertie of theſe two thinges, which of all other are of moſt importance, that is both of bodie and ſowle, neither of which is permitted vnto our Catholiques at home.

For firſt beſides the taxes and aggrauations, which are laide vppon their temporall commodities, theire very bodies are ſubiect to a thowſande vexations, both of bondes, impriſonment, and alſo of tormentes. But to theire ſowls there is nothinge left free or at libertie, not their religion not their internall feelinge or opinion of God & their conſciẽce, for thow muſt ſay as other men ſay, doe as they ſweare, yf thow lyue there albeit thow thinke the playne contrarie in thy conſcience.

VVhich ſeruitude, and illiberall preſſure and forcement of mynde, eſpecial-

lye in matters pertainynge to God, beinge the greatest and most greeuous affliction, that may be exercysed vppon man, maketh our state and conditiō, (albeit in other thinges very harde) to seeme much more tollerable than that of our brethrē at home. For whoe would not esteeme it more greeuous than all other incommodities, yea than death it selfe, to be wrested in conscience, to be forbidden all exercise of religion, to be enforced to sweare & make profession of new straunge opinions, which his hart doth reiect, deteste, and abhorre: and yf by chance he should be taken seruinge god accordinge to his owne manner, and the manner of his fathers and aunceslours, & of the most parte of Christianitie besides, (albeit it were alone, albeit it were preuilye, and in most secrete wise:) yet to be plucked owt, as an offender of the supreme maiestie of the prince, as an enymie of the cōmon wealthe, as a wicked and flagitious caitife, vnworthie of life, or the companye of mē? And that thes thinges doe so now passe in Englande (M. Gerard) it shall euidentlie appeare, by the narration followinge.

The lawes of England against Catholiques.

And first of all that the matter may the better be vnderstoode, and you the easier coniect of the trueth of that I saye, it semeth to me no euill methode, to laye downe first, the publique lawes which England (borne, & instructed by Catholiques, in Christianitie,) hath now for their Christian faithe, set furthe againste Catholiques. For by thes lawes may be easelye cõceaued what Catholiques are subiect vnto, in respect of the power, malice, & iniquitie of priuate aduersaries when they list, seinge that publique lawes do yelde so muche authoritie, to euerye mã almoste, that woold seeke a cauill or sclaunder against them.

Two kindes of lawes.

To beginne therfore with thes lawes, it is first to be knowen that there are two kinde of lawes at dyuers times set furth in diffauoure and punishemẽt of the Catholique religion. The one which concerneth monye, possessions, and other goodes bothe of fortune & bodye, which I thinke maie be called penall or monye lawes. The other which maie rather be called bloodie or capitall lawes, for that thei inflicte deathe vnto the offenders. And to this diuision of lawes will I applye my

ſpeeche folowinge.

Amongeſt the penall lawes I will put that as firſt, which was made amongeſt the laſt, for the puniſhement of thoſe whiche for conſcience ſake refuſe to come to the proteſtants churches. For this poynt the aduerſarie vrgeth greatlie, that (all beyt the Catholiques be of an other religion, thoughe they deteſt Caluiniſme in their harts, thoughe they abhorr all prayers and cõuenticles of the miniſters, and accompt their ſeruice for moſt wicked & blaſphemouſe:) yet muſt they come to yt, they muſt aſſiſt and ſhewe them ſelues preſent, albeyt with a repynyng and reſiſtinge conſcience. And becauſe ſome do refuſe to ſynn in ſuch horrible wyſe againſt god, and their owne conſciẽces: therfore this lawe was made againſt theſe ſcrupulouſe men for ſoothe: that who ſo euer ſhould refuſe to come to the proteſtants churche, to heare diuine ſeruice (as they call yt) yf he be aboue the age of ſixtene yeres: ſhall forfeyte twẽtye powndes Engliſhe euerye monethe: and he which can not paye, to lye in pryſõ vntill he be of better habilitie to paye. The reſt of thoſe lawes folowe here in

Penall lawes.

Recuſants.

1. For refuſing to go to churches of proteſtants.

order.

VVho so euer shall be conuicted to haue hearde masse, though it were secretlye, shall suffer imprisonement, the space of one whole yere, and so longe after, vntil he paye a hundrede marke.

2. For hearinge or sayeing masse.

But as for the prieste which celebrateth masse, he shall neuer be lett owte of prison till he haue payde two hundred marks. And that somme of money must be payd so oft as any offendeth herein.

3. For abiuration of religion.

VVhat soeuer Ecclesiasticall persone shall not make publike detestation of the romane Religion, and openlie abiure the authoritie and iurisdiction of the byshopp of Rome, shall forfaite all his benefices and all his dignities ecclesiasticall what soeuer.

4. For othes in the vniuersities.

No Scholer or student maye haue any place with in the Colleiges of the vniuersities, or be preferred to any degree of Learning, excecpt such as at his fyrst entry in to the Colleige, and at the taking of euerye degree, doth by solemne othe, denie the byshopp of Romes authoritie, in all causes Ecclesiasticall.

5. For othes of officers.

None may haue any publique Office, or other ministerie, in the common w-l-

the, except he fyrſt ſolemlye publiſhe, the ſelf ſame abiuration of the byſhopp of Rome.

No warde comynge to full age may enter in to his inheritaunce, or enioye any cõmodities thereof, except he fyrſt take the ſame othe. 6. For othes of vwardes.

VVho ſo euer vnder degree of a Baron, ſhall be called (as oftentimes it happeneth) to be one of the parliamẽt (in which courte voices were wont to be moſt free) muſt neuer the leſſe haue no voice there, yf he will not take the ſayde common othe againſt the Pope. 7. For othes of perlyament men.

VVhat perſone ſo euer (vnder degree of a baron) to whome this othe hath bene twyſe miniſtered, doeth the ſecond time refuſe the ſame, ſhall forfait all his goods and poſſeſſions, & be condemned to perpetuall pryſon. 8. For recuſants.

VVho ſo euer denieth the quene to be ſupreme heade of the Churche of England, in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, ſhall ſuſtein the ſame Penaltie of loſſe of all his goodes, and of perpetuall impryſonment. 9. For denienge of the queenes ſupremacie.

VVho ſo euer receiueth or kepeth any Agnus dei Roſaries, halowed graines, medalls, or anie other thnig which is ha- 10. For receiuers of halowed thinges

lowed by the Pope and broght into Eng-
gland, shall endure the same punishement
of losse of all his goods and of perpetuall
impryſonment.

21 For keping Catholique ſcholemaſters.

Yf any kepe a Scholemaſter in hys
howſe, to teache hys owne childeren or
others, which dothe not haunt the churche
of protestants, or is not by one of their
bishopps alowed: he shall for that cause
forfeit ten pounds for euerie month, vn-
till he haue remoued him.

22. For cõcealers of reconciled Catholiques.

Yf anie do knowe one, whiche hathe
reconciled another, to the vnitie and cõ-
munion of the churche of Rome, and yf
he doe by any waye or meane ayde, eyther
the reconciler or the reconciled, or do
conceale thone or thother, in ſuche wiſe
as he doe not diſcouer them bothe, to ſo-
me publique magiſtrate, with in the ſpace
of twentye dayes, then next folowenige:
he ſhall forfait all his goods, aſwell mouа-
ble as vnmouable, and all his poſſeſſions
whiles he lyueth: and his bodie ſhall re-
maine to be diſpoſed, as pleaſeth the
queene.

23. For cõcealing procurers.

VVho ſo euer dothe know any per-
ſone, to haue procured an other, to be re-
conciled to the faith and religion of Ro-
me,

me, thowghe he hym ſelfe be no reconciler, nor is reconciled, yet, yf ſuche a one doe by any way or meane releue or ſaccoure the ſayd procurer, or yf he doe conceall, or not diſcouer the ſame procurer to ſome magiſtrate (as is aboue ſayde:) ſhall incurr the ſame punyſhement.

14. For cõcealing of counſelers

VVho ſo euer dothe know any perſone to haue counſeled an other to be recõciled to the Romaine Religion, thowgh he hym ſelf dyd not procure it at all: yet yf he any way ayde ſuch a counſayler, or cõceale or not diſcouer hym (as is before ſayd:) he ſhall haue the ſame puniſhmẽt.

15. For concealing ſuch as obey the pope.

Yf one know any to haue perſuaded, procured, or counſeled an other to obeye the byſhopp of Rome, in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, and yet dothe ayde hym, cõceale or not bewraye hym (as is aboue ſayde:) ſhall endure the ſame payne and puniſhẽment.

16. For cõcealing of promiſed obedientiaries.

VVho ſo euer knoweth any, which hathe ſuffered hym ſelf to be perſuaded to obey the byſhopp of Rome, in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, or which hathe promiſed, ani obediẽce to him for the time to come, and yet dothe any way ayde, or conceale ſuche a one, or doeth not diſcouer hym

within twentie dayes (as is aforesayde) he shall suffer the same penaltie of losse of all his goods and possessions, and of imprisonment.

37. For concealing absoluors. He which knoweth anye priest, to haue absolued an other, and yet doeth ayde or conceale hym, or doeth not geue knowleige of hym, in sufficient tyme (as is aforesayd): shall be condemned in the same penaltye.

38. For concealing such as haue authoritie to absolue. Yf any know a priest to haue authoritie to absolue (albeit the priest exercyse not the same, nor absolue any) yf he eyther helpe or conceale hym, or do not discouer hym, (as is aforesayd) he shall abyde the same payne.

39. For concealing pretended absoluers. VVho so euer knoweth any to pretēd to haue authoritie to absoluet (hough in dede he haue none) and yet doeth ayde or conceale hym, or not discouer hym, (as is aforesayd) he shall suffer the same punishement.

40. For concealing the absolued. Yf any knowe one to be absolued, were he willyngly absolued vppon his owne sute, or wittingly dyd but suffer hym selfe to be absolued, (thoughe he neuer desired it): yet yf he any waye succoure, or conceale hym, or do not geue

notice of hym, (as is aforesayde) he shall haue the same punishement.

11. For concealing dissuaders, of calumnies.

V Who so euer knoweth anie to haue dissuaded an other frō the religiō nowe publiklie vsed in Englād, of intēt, to draw hym to the obedience of the bysopp, and religion of Rome: or knoweth any to haue bene a procurer, mouer or counseler, to such dissuadyng of any other: and doeth by any way or meane helpe, conceale, or not discouer hym to a magistrate withein the space of twentie dayes, (as is a foresayd): he shall endure the same penalties, punishements and paynes, so often now remembred, vvhiche is asmuche to saye in effect, as he shall lose all the ioyes, comforthes, & commodities which this mortall life can velde to mā.

And thus muche for so farr as I now doe remēber) towching the penall lawes. By these onelye (though ther were no capitall lawes,) a man may easilye coniecture, in how hard termes, the Catholiques now in Englande doe stande, against whome, so many dredefull and moste perilous lawes are layed, lyke snares for their destructiō. who can haue a quiet mynde, whan he is withoute securitie to enioye

but one houre the verye neceſſaries wher with he ſhowld lyue, beinge on euerie ſyde hedged and liſted yn with ſo many menaſing lawes, the dawngers whereof he is not able to eſchewe, except he wold be come impiouſe? how great a ſwaye doe cauills beare among theſe Lawes? how great force hath malice here? how muche oportunitie is geuen to iniquitye? Behold I praye you. Yf any perſone do eyther ayd or cõceale the reconciler, or the reconciled, the abſoluer or the abſolued, the procurer, counceler diſſuader, or ſuche like: he is guiltie (ſaith the law) of an haynouſe crime, & worthie to be puniſhed, with loſſe of al his goods, yea and of his libertie alſo. Let the matter it ſelfe paſſe: conſider but onelye how wyde open to all iniuſtice the Catholiques do lye by meanes of thes lawes, yf one by chaunce or vnwittingly ſhould receaue in to his houſe, ſome of the a foreſayd perſones, and a quareling felow wold accuſe hym, that he dyd yt wittinglie: how cowld he be hable in this caſe to defend him ſelfe, or what ſupportatiõ might he finde for his owne innocẽcye? If one wold diſſuade a man from the hereſie

of Caluin and neuer speake word at all of the byshopp of Rome: howe shall it appeare that he is not guiltie of treason? I meane, how shall he be able to bring in euidence, that he dyd not dissuade with this intent, that the other should reiect the phrasies of Caluin, and submitt hym selfe to the bisshopp & churche of Rome? Yes (yow will say) the perill may be easilie auoyded, if this felow showlde plainlye moue one to the religion of puritanes, Anabaptists, Arians, or yet of Atheists: In verie trueth I beleue it well: And surelie yt is not vnprobable that this same clause was so smothelye couched to the rest by the penner of the lawe, in fauoure and maintenance of these and suche like heresies. Oh how miserable is the condicion of these owre dayes?

By the 21. Lavv before mencioned.

Eche heresie is more safely defended in Englād, than the Catholique faithe.

And thus muche touching cauillation and surmise. Nowv as to the vnequalitie of these lavves, what should a man say thereof, syth therbye at this daye in England the father is bownde to accuse hys sonne, the husband hys wyfe, the brother his brother, the penitent his ghostlie father, the seruant hys master, as yf it were for a myscheeuouse crime? And wherfore

The vnequalitie of the lavves against Catholiques.

I praye yow forsoothe for the Catholique religion, vnder which we were borne, with which we were brought vpp, and instructed, and the verie same, whiche all other princes doe embrace and defende. The like to this withoute doubt, no age past hath tasted, no memorie of oure forefathers hathe heard, no antiquitie of former worldes hathe sene. These are the braynsick phantasies onlie of oure dayes, the variable innouacions of particular places, the flexible willfullnesse of mans mynde, the moste vaine cogitatiõs of flesshe and bloode, whereby men doe attempt to exchaunge the vnmutable truthe of Christ for their owne phantasies to serue their owne turnes in respect of their owne commodities.

The capitall lawes against the Catholiques of England.

But let vs yet see mo of these seuere lawes, & that ys, the capitall lawes, whiche before, I haue called bloodye lawes, in this respect, for that they lye in wayte of bloode, and doe assaile, the verie lyfe of man. And in these lawes, first of all, there is one thing not vnmete to be noted, that all thes lawes, doe concern religiõ onlye, and yet neuer the lesse they doe inferr not only the payne of deathe, but suche a

payne, as ys prouided for offenſes, committed againſt her maieſties perſone, whiche of all other is a moſt greuouſe & moſte odiouſe payne, as due for the moſt flagitiouſe crime, and that ys treaſon or rebellion. And this courſe oure aduerſaries doe take of ſpeciall purpoſe, that the deathe of Catholiques, ſhoulde not ſeeme to be a martyrdome, but rather might be conueyed throughe the eares of the ignorãt people, vnder the infamouſe blott of an haynouſe crime: and to the intent alſo that the prince might more eaſilie be perſuaded, the Catholique religion to ſtand ſtyffelie bent againſt her roiall ſcepter, and daungerous to the ſecuritie of her regiment. Now when this foundacion was ones laied, yt was no hard matter for thẽ, to procure what lawes they luſted againſt Catholiques: Albeit in verye dede, ſhe of her owne diſpoſition, abhorreth ſuche violence, and effuſion of mans bloode. But nowe I come to the lawes, & thus the firſt beginneth.

VVho ſo euer ſhall ſaye, write, affirme, or by any maner of ciphar ſhall vtter, or yet being demaunded, ſhall confeſſe, that the byſhopp of Rome is heade of the 11. For admitting. diſſuaſion.

churche of England, or hathe there anie Iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall: shall be reputed and taken for a traitor, and shall endure such paines of deathe, forfaitures & penalties, as are provided in cases of high treasō, cōmitted against the state.

2. For appellants to Rome.

He which for any cause doth hereafter appeale to the Byshopp of Rome, and obtein from hym bulls or other instrumēts, and bring the same in to England: shall endure the punishement of highe treason.

3. For bringers in of halowed thinges.

Yf any persone do hereafter bringe in to Englande any Agnus Dei, (as they call thē) rosaries, hallowed grains, medalles, crucifixes, or any other thinge halowed of the Byshopp of Rome: shall be reputed demed and taken for a traitor.

4. For recusants of the othe.

VVhat persone so euer beinge vnder the degree of a baron, to whome the othe or abiuration against the popes authoritie, and in the behalfe of the Quenes supreme powre i causes ecclesiasticall shall be thryse tendred, doe at the third tyme refuse to sweare: shall suffer the paines ordeined for highe treason.

5. For saying the quene is an heretique or scismatique.

VVho so euer by anie waie or meane doethe from henseforthe say, write, signifie, or beinge demaunded, doeth cōfesse

fesse, that the quene is an heretique, or a Shismatique: shall be subiect to the same paines for high treason.

If anie doe hereafter reconcile an other to the vnitie & communion of the sea of Rome: he shall suffer the same paines & punishemēts prouided for treason. 6. For reconcilers.

VVho so euer shal wittinglie and willinglie be reconciled, to the same vnitie and communion: shall endure the same punishement. 7. For the reconciled

VVho so euer doeth hereafter procure any persone to be reconciled to the same vnitie and communion: shall be cōdemned to the same punishement. 8 For procurers of reconciliation.

VVhat persone so euer doethe from henseforthe but onelie geue aduise or counsaille to anie to be reconciled to the same vnitie and communion, thoughe he doe not procure the same: shall neuer the lesse haue the same punishement. 9. For counsailers of reconciliation.

If anie persone doe hereafter persuade an other to obeye the byshopp of Rome in causes ecclesiasticall: he shalbe condemned of the same crime of highe treason. 10. For persuaders of obedience to the pope.

If anie suffer hym selfe to be persuaded to suche obedience: he shall be do- 11. For admitting persuasion.

med guiltie of the same crime of highe treason.

12. For procurers and counsailers of such persuasion.

If anie doe procure suche persuasion to be vsed with an other, or geue counsaill thereunto: he shall suffer the same payne of highe treason.

13. For promisers of obedience.

If anie do promise to vse in time to come, anie suche obedience to the sea of Rome in causes ecclesiasticall: he shall endure the penalties prouided for highe treason.

14 For absoluers.

If a pryeste doe absolue anie of the quenes subiects: yt shall be Iudged to be highe treason.

15. For suche as haue authoritie to absolue.

If anie haue authoritie to absolue in England, thowghe he neuer doe in dede absolue anie: yet shall he neuertheleſſe be demed and taken for a traitor.

16. For pretenders of authoritie.

If anie doe make a pretense or showe that he hathe suche authoritie to absolue, though in truthe he haue none: yet shall he be reputed as a traitor.

17. Admitters of absolution.

If anie persone wittinglie be absolued of an other, be yt that he eyther made sute for the same absolution, or withoute making anie sute for it, suffred hym selfe to be absolued: he shall be punished as a traitor.

Yf anie do procure abſolution for an other, he ſhall haue the ſame puniſhement. 18. procurers of abſolution.

Yf any perſone doe aduiſe or counſell an other to be abſolued, thoughe he do not procure yt to be done: yet ſhall he therfore ſuffer as a traitor. 19. Counſailers of abſolution

Yf anie doe eyther procure or counſell an other generallye to be an abſoluer, all be yt that he doe not moue hym to abſolue any ſpeciall perſone: yet he ſhall neuer the leſſe incurr the ſame puniſhement. 20. Procurers or counſelers to abſolue.

Yf anye doe hereafter dehorte or diſſuade an other frome the religion now publiklye vſed & profeſſed in Englād, or doe procure any ſuch diſſuaſion, of intent that the perſone whiche is to be diſſuaded may be drawne to the obedience and religion of the ſea of Rome: he ſhall be reputed demed and iudged guiltie of highe treaſon: and ſhall endure the ſame puniſhemēt, whiche is dewe for that crime. And that puniſhement is ſuche as foloweth. 21. Diſſwaders of cal uins religion.

The paine of Catholi ques condemned as traitors for religiō

Firſt, that the perſone condemned, and drawne a lōge byland to the place of execution, be (for his greater torment,)

halfe strangled with an haulter: then is he to be lett doune, that whyles he is cōminge to hym selfe, his priuie members may be cutt of and brent in the fyre before his face: by and by his bellye is to be vpript with a knyfe, his gutts haled owte, and whiles he lyeth yet pantinge and struglinge: his hart, lungs, liuer, and all his bowells & intrales must be plucked fourthe by the boucher, & throwne in to the fire there at hand: in thende, his bodye ys boyled, cut in peeces, & hanged by quarters at diuerse gates of the Citie. And as for his goods and possessions, they are all forfeited, and no parte thereof must descend to his vvyfe, children, or kynred: yea and they allso for this one mans sake are to be blotted with ignominie, and the whole posteritie of this dead creature vtterlie attainted, and disteined in bloode for euer.

The vneauen dealing of the ministers of Englād.

Are not these seuere enough? are they not (think yow my frinde Gerard) sufficient sharppe for the professors of a religion which they receiued of their grand fathers and forefathers? And yet, for soothe, oure ministers of Englād, those oure innouators, oure trōpett blowers of the

euangelicall doctrine, and reſemblers (for ſoothe) of Chriſtian myldeneſſe, doe daylie exclayme forthe of pulpits, redouble thicke and threefold through their writen bookes, and beate in to the eares of the magiſtrate, yea and of the prince allſo in daylie ſpeeche, that to muche lenitie is vſed: that clemencie is daungerouſe: that the toleration and forbearance, which is vſed in the whole courſe of that regimēt towards Catholiques, is blame woorthye, and not to be ſuffred. See nowe the vnaduiſed folie of ſpitefull and furiouſe perſones.

Is there anie haynouſe offenſe, or deteſtable acte, that can be more ſharplye puniſhed, than with theſe torments whiche here I haue ſett downe? ys there anie ſorte of men ſo vngraciouſe, as could be withe mo lawes lyſted abowte, withe greater paines reſtreined, to mo perills ſubiected, to mo miſcheues and inconueniences layde opē, than the Catholicks are in Englāde by theyſe lawes? And yet, whan all is done, wherein haue theſe poore Catholiques offended? What maner of crime ys to be imputed to the faithe and religiō of our grand fathers and aunceſtours? vvell,

theyse aduersaries vvere ones of one societie vvith vs, but novv, vvhan they haue taken hold of Caluines faithe, forsaken Luthers religion, and contemned oures: they haue made them selues oure masters, they haue banished vs ovvt of our ovvne houses, and thrusten vs frome all degrees of honor and estimation. But for oure part, vve make no complaint thereofilet them take, and vse all at their moste libertie. Then vvhye are they not here withall content? vvhye procede they further sely poore me? vvhat meane they to assaile oure soules? vvhye are they so rigorouse against oure bloode? howe is yt, that nothinge can satisfie them but oure deathe, or oure extreme calamitie? yf the quarell whiche they haue against vs, be for no other thinge, but onelye for oure faithe: alas, there are other petye sects no lesse ennemyes to Caluine thā we are: yet can they be content very frindlie to entertaine them, and to vse their fauorable ministerye. But yf a paddlye hyddin the strawe: yf Varres be affrayed to be called to accompte by order of lawe: behold, we are contēt to delyuer them from that trouble, to seale them an acquitance, and

to yelde of oure owne right and intereſt. Marye, this is the thinge which we onelie deſire, that this be not to vs an ouerthrow, and an occaſion of theyre perpetuall diſpleaſure againſt vs, for that ones we enioyed oure natiue ſoyle, whiche nowe we want: for yf this hadd not happned, their publique weale hadd now bene none.

And thus muche of the lawes. Nowe, yow ſee how muche oure aduerſaries are hable to doe againſt vs, vnder the pretenſe of theyſe lawes: but how muche more they wolde fayne doe, the matter it ſelfe declareth euidentlye, in that they are not content with the ſeueritie now vſed, but earneſtlie call for ſharper & more painfull lawes euerye daye. And yet verylie I doe not thinke, that anie Chriſtian can haue ſo hard and yroned a harte (onleſſe he haue loſt bothe feelinge of humanitie and fathe) but might be moued to compaſſion with theyſe extremities, which oure poore Catholiques doe ſuffer.

The termes vvhere in Catholiques doe ſtand in Engla.

For no lamentable diſtreſſe can be imagined in anye kynde of calamitie, well nighe, which theyſe men do not daylie

beare, no trouble in anye condition of men, can be thought on, which they doe not continuallye sustayne. In so muche, as they may moste truelie say, with the A-
2. Cor 6. postle: *in tribulatiõs, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in prysons, in tumultes, in labors.* And
2. Cor. 11. with, the same soldioure of Christe in an other place: *in perills vvith in the Citie, in perills in vvildernes, in perills in the sea, in perills amonge false brethren, in trauaile and miserie.* Yea they may allso say further, as the Apostle sayethe: *euen in deathe ofte times.* Yet further, that same may be applyed
Heb. 11. vnto thé, and not vnaptlye. *Skornefull mockes and beatings haue they felt, ouer and beside bothe setters and prysos, they haue bene racked, they haue bene cutt and mangled, they haue abydden temptations and triall, they haue bene slayne vvith the svvoorde.* And to conclude, that same allso verye sytlie agreeth vnto
1. Cor. 4. them, *vve are made a spectacle to the vvorlde, to angels and to men: vve are euell spoken of, and vve say vvell of others: vve suffer and endure persecution: vve are blasphemed and vve pray, for them: vve are accompted the parings of the vvorlde, and the refuse of all to this daye.*

But to make all theyse more euident, it shall not be (perhaps) farr from the

purpose, yf I touche euerye thing yet more particularlie.

The last punishemēt of Catholiques.

And fyrst (to speake of the last executiō, whiche oure Catholiques do endure in the ende of all) yt can not be doubtful (I think) to anie, how manye men, and what maner of men, haue bene put to moste paynfull deathe, as strangled, bowelled, cut in sunder, boyled, and dispersed by peece meale in the ayre, and all for religion: and though our aduersaries (for more reproche) make a surmise of treason: yet the matter is manifest, and they them selues do not denye, that only religion is the cause of this deathe.

I make no mention here, of the greate nōber of those moste reuerend bishopps, doctors, priests, and other confessors of Christ, whiche in pryson haue bene either choked with filthie stinkyng sauour, or cōsumed with sorowe and hungar, whose causes we referr to the Iudgement seate of Christe alone. I speake here of them onelye, whiche openly in the sight of all men, haue geuē testimonie to the truethe, with their owne bloode. VVho (besydes the verye torment of the executiō, & that common contumelie, where in they die

(in the opinion of the people) as traitors to the ſtate, and not as Catholiques, haue allſo (for the moſte part) this reward, and good turne geuen them whan they are deade, that they are ſlaundered in diſperſed libells with ſome notable falſe ſurmiſe throwne oute againſt their maners and doctrine.

Slaunderinge of deade mē.

In this wiſe verie latelie whan they had hanged on their common gallowes, that godlie and zelouſe prieſt Euerard Hanſe, and were affrayed leſte ſome perchaunce, wolde be moued with the martyrdome of that Innocent: they gaue owt in two contrarie bookes, thone impugnyng thother, certaine monſtruouſe errors and paradoxes, (I knowe not what,) and made this deade man theauthor thereof: Suche as this: *that the biſhopp of Rome can not erre*: where as in trueth maiſter Hanſe dyd ſpeake expreſſelye of the doctrine of faithe that is to be publiſhed to the vniuerſall churche, and therin only he ſayd, that the pope could not erre.

Paradoxes falſely imputed to M. HANSE.

And this is an other: *that no prince hath anye ſupremacie vvithin his owvne dominions, ſauing the byſhopp of Rome onlie*: where in dede he ſpake onlie of the ſupremacie of

the Catholique churche in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall. And this allſo: *that no treaſō againſt the quene of Englād is a ſynn.* VVheras being nowe at the point redie to be executed to deathe and repeting his owne woords diuers tymes before the people there preſent, he affirmed that he ſpake not of euery kinde of treaſon, but of that onlie, for the which without deſert he was then in dyeing, and which his aduerſaries vndiſcretely call treaſō, being in truethe no other thing, than a nedefull confeſſion of the Catholique faithe. For now by the recitall of the lawes before mencioned, yt is manifeſte, how many cheefe points and principles of oure faithe, they haue drawne to the caſe of hyghe treaſon. Principles of faithe made treaſon.

In this point therfore, oure aduerſaries excede the malice of auncient perſecutors, that they do not make knowen the true cauſe why they martyre men, though them ſelues doo confeſſe the ſame. And yet the deuell in thoſe formoſte tymes hade ſowne muche ſeede of this iniquitie, whē S. Paule *as pernicious & ſeditious:* yea & oure ſauioure Chriſt: *as one ſeducing the people, & forbyddinge to paye tribute to Cæſar:* were moſte iuriouſly ſlaundered. Act. 24. Luc. 24.

Sauuage rudenes.

But nowe it is (I ſuppoſe) ſkant woorthe the labour, to put downe here in writing, with how greate reproches, with what outcries, with how many mocks and ſkorns, with how ſower and ſpite full ſkoffes, with how bitter and vnſauourye taunts, with what ruſtling noyſe and dynne of mutteringe male cõtents, and fowle mowthed detractors, theyſe our martyrs were ſtrangled, and in the ſight of all the people rent and torne in peeces: for the thinge of it ſelfe is lothe ſome to the eyes, and terrible to the eares. O howe pitifull is owre caſe, whiche are fallen in to theſe tymes, whan we ſee ſo greate rigoure practiſed by chriſtians againſte chriſtians, for the chriſtian faithe?

Contumelies againſt Catholiques.

And thus muche for the paynes and punithements ordeined for Catholiques: Nowe lett vs ſaye ſomethinge of the cõtumelies that they abyde before their deathes: but it is an infinit & endleſſe matter, it can not be expreſſed in fewe woords. For I thinke verelie, that Catholiques no where in the world, no not amonge Moores, Gothes, Tartars, Saracens, Turcks, or what ſo euer other confederats, or ſworne enemies of Chriſte, could be more

ſkornfullie, than they are by theſe contumeliouſe and diſdeinfull new goſpellers.

Yf they take a prieſt at maſſe: a man wold marueyle to ſee, how impiouſlye & how deſpiteſilly they behaue them ſelues. Firſt, for the ſacred yea and conſecrated hoſte, they take it away with violence, treade it vnder foote, thruſt it through with knyues and daggers, faſten it to a poſte, and with great wounder ſhowe it to Catholiques, inſult and triumphe againſt yt in all ſkoffing and ſkornfull maner, and call it (ſuche is their blaſphemie) the wheaten or breadie god of papiſts. Now as to the prieſt, whan they haue (after their maner) firſt intreated hym yll withein doores, then they bring hym forthe abroade, aud in the ſelfe ſame attyre wherein they fownde hym ſtandinge at the aultar, they haile and chaſe hym abowte, throwghe ſtretes and villages, where all folke gaſe and ſtare vppon hym the whole multitude ſkorne hym, yea & ſome ſpytt in his face, but the moſte part ſcolde, and raile againſt hym, and euerie one (well nighe) dothe practiſe ſome particuler ſpite and iniurie againſt this

How a prieſt is entreated that is taken at maſſe.

seruant of Christ. Then they lock hym fast in the counter, or laye hym vpp in some other prison: they bynde hym in yrō cheyns, loade him with bolts and shakles, and (yf it like them) they put hym to the rack, and torture: or elſe, whan they haue vexed hym in euerie part with the rodd of all maner of reprochefull punishements: they hale hym fourthe to the place of Iudgement, and theyr, bothe hym, and all them which were present at his masse, they do condemne to prison, and to paye that summe of money for their fine or raunsome, whiche I tolde yow before is to be payde for this so hainous a fault (God wote) of hearing masse.

And whan all this is done and past, (yf they thinke it may anie way further their affaires to dispatche the man quyte out of the waye, and kill hym) they exhibit vnto hym interrogatories touchinge some articles of the aforesayde capitall lawes: they appose hym with captiouse and subtile questions: they vrge hym vpon his allegeaunce to answere directlie & plainlie. VVhat nede manie woords? Doe they not easelie (think yow) beate oute of the poore man some thinge that may suffice

to ſerue their turne? yes in dede: *for a ſtaffe is euer at hande to beate a dogg.*

Of priſons.

And here becauſe I haue made mencion of impryſonmẽts, and yow in yowre letters requeſt aduertiſemẽt of ſome particulars thereof by name: I will ſaye ſome thing alſo of priſons: whereof this ſhall be the firſt: that they are all very full repleniſhed and ſtuffed vpp with Catholiques, in ſo muche as there is ſkante anie romthe for theues. Manie priſõs are newe builded of late, but all doe not ſuffice. The Tower of London, (in time paſt vſed for traitors,) is nowe fraught full of prieſts. Yea, oure Bridewell, an infamouſe place of light houſwyues & lewed folke, is not withoute ſome parte. For it is not longe ſyncé a yong maide, a gẽtle woman borne, confeſſinge the Catholique faithe ſome what zelouſlie, was thruſt in to this diſhonorable place by the Superintẽdent of London.

Miſtreſſe Tomſon.

Nowe to the wantes, diſtreſſes and inner troubles of priſoners I dare ſaye nothing, leſte with my complaint I might afflict the afflicted more. This neuer theleſſe is common, that no frinde of theirs may viſit them, all intercourſe of ſpeche

and letters is forbidden, strayte watche is layde, & narroulie it is obserued who resorteth vnto them, in so muche as none withoute presente perill, can eyther geue them any almes or other wayes releiue them with any woorke of charitie. And I heare of muche harder dealings, concerninge the order of their diet, speciallie in the prisons at york and hull. Yett because those extremities may procede perhaps of some peculiar frowardnesse of Iailers: I will not touche them here as afflictions common to all prisoners.

The prison at Lanson.

But yet the report of a rigoure vsed in a prison at Lanson in the countie of Cornwale, is certeinlie true, and the fact more than barbarous. For whan syx (as I wene) or eight Catholiques were shoo-ueled together and piled vpp in to one hole: thoughe they were of good calling, and for more part gentlemen borne: yet had they neyther meate geuen them, nor allowed to them, other than vnsauorie and Lothesome, yea and begged of almes from doore to doore, nor vse of any water but of corrupt & filthie. And as for place of easement to theyre bodilie necessities, they had none at all, other than

the

the verie floore where on they dyd lye. But of all other this exceded: that when they se poore wreches beganne at last to complaine of this inhumaine and sauage cruelties the Iayler threatned them further, that he wolde from thenseforthe tye the to maungers, and feede them like brute beastes. Yet in the ende by lõge sute and continuall soliciting of fryndes, yt came to passe, that they were remoued from this prison abowte two hundred miles thense, and posted ouer to a prison in london, with a common garde. Of which pilgrimage this was the ceremonie & circumstance. A sauage parte of a layler.

Euery one of them was sett on a selie leane & bare horse, withoute bridle spurr, or other furniture for a horseman: the horses were fastned eche one to others taile, marchinge in a long rewe one after an other. Eche mans feete were tyed vnder his horse bellie, and his armes were bound hard & fast behinde hym. VVhen they came neare to anie citie or townes one was appointed to ryde before, and to geue warning to the inhabitants, that there were cominge at hand, certein papists, foes to the Gospell, and enemies to the Hovv Catholiques are led to prison in England.

common weale. Vppon whiche notice, the people beinge sturred vpp, dyd runne in flocks foorth of their houses in to the stretes, and welcome the commers with as spitefull contumelies as they could.

Maister Edmund Campian of the Societie of Iesus, led i triumphe.

VVith a verie like pomp and solemnitye (fashioned and framed all together for reproche, & to euery tricke & toye of mockerye) dyd they latelie leade throughe the citie of london, twelue catholicks, whereof fyue were priests, & the rest were of good estate and callinge. Theire fault forsoothe was this: they were fownde prayeing & at masse all in one house with maister Edmund Campian, of the Societie of Iesus, a greate lerned clerk, a harmelesse and verie Innocent man. This good man, for offeringe to the ministers a most iust defense of hys faithe by waye of disputation, was by oure aduersarie slaundered as a sedicious persone, and to that end and effect, a large paper was most spitefullie written with great letters, which they forced hym to beare vppon his heade in this triumphe. All this the good mā did beare (not vnlike as Christ dyd beare the title and superscription of his crosse)

Calmelye, myldlie, modeſtlie, with a gladde mynde and a cherefull countenance.

At laſt after this tragedie was ended, when they were come to the tower of London: as they had before that tyme entreated other of gods ſeruants, and ſpeciallie prieſts: ſo dyd they novv put Maiſter Campian to the racke and to extreme torments, and therby vvold haue vvreſted ovvte of hym, in vvhat places he had ſeiourned, in vvhoſe houſes he had bene enterteined, by vvhoſe frindeſhipp and liberalitie he had bene mainteined, vvhere he had bated or inned: vvhome he had viſited by the vvaie, vvhome he had made of his counſaile, vvhoſe help, and induſtrie he had vſed, and (to be ſhorte) vvho they vvere throughe oute all England, vvhiche fauoure the Catholique religion, and vvho abhorre Caluiniſme in theyre harts O haynouſe crimes, ſufficiēt (no doubt) to bringe free borne men to be turmoiled in ſo exquiſite maner of examination, & that by torture too, euen, for a mere ſurmiſe, and but a ſuſpicion there of.

Novv (I praye yow) tell vs yf yow cā whē was this practiſe vſed anie where befo-

Novv Catholiques be tormented in the tovver.

Light cauſes of torture.

re theſe dayes? In what barbarous Scythia was this aſmuche as hearde of by anye report at any tyme, that freeborne men, of honeſt ſtate & condition, lerned, of good education, well inſtructed and trayned vpp in gentlemanlye maner, dedicated and vowed to the ſacred functiō of prieſthoode, ſhould be for the teſtimonie onlie of an auncient religion, of lōge cōtinuance left vnto them by theire auncestours, ſtauled vpp in cages to be racked on a payne banke (as bondſlaues were wonte to be) and with dire and horrible paines, greeues, & afflictiōs wreſted and writhen owte of their ioynts, vnleſſe thei will appeache, & traiterouſly deliuer vp to the torture theyre owne cōpaniōs in faithe and profeſſion: whiche to doe they are forbidden by the lawe of natiōs, by the rule of nature, by ciuile duetie, by common honeſtie, & by euerye religion? Ys this (think yowe) a verye iuſt cauſe of torture? ys this a reaſō effectuall enoughe to bringe men to theire inquiſition? ſpeciallye ſo extreme, ſo rigorouſe, ſo ſeruile a maner of inquiſitiō for free borne mē to endure? dyd Catholiques in any aige practiſe this, euen againſt the deſperateſt

and peruerſest heretiques?

The diſſimulation of hereſie.

Aſſuredlie, yf there were nothing elles to admoniſhe a circũſpect and attentiue perſone of the fraude of hereſie, and of that deſperate wickednesſe, vvhich lyeth lurkinge vnder her hypocriſie: thoughe the noueltie of theire opimons, the contrarietie amonge thẽ ſelues, the variable vncertaintie of their aſſertiõs, theyr licẽtiouſe diſſolution in conuerſation of lyfe coulde ſaye nothinge to the matter: yet this one thing wolde (to hym I ſaye that hathe good eyes & eares) ſufficiẽtli diſcouer the whole frame of all theyre diſſimulatiõ: to wyt, that theſe ſelf ſame felowes which of late ſo freſhe ye profeſſed all kinde of humanitie and courteſie, & haue ſo fiercelye inueihed againſt the Catholique churche of Chriſte for her moſt eauen and moſt indifferent diſciplyne, by moſte iuſt and moſte auncient lawes ordeined, doe nowe vſe ſuche ſauage cruelltie vpon light and triflinge cauſes, as the very churliſh, ride, and barbarouſe dyd ſkante practiſe for moſte haynouſe offences.

VVell, he muſt beare with my greefe and ſorowe, who ſo euer thinketh my

woordes to be ouer sharpp. For I am displeased in dede and not well content: but not so muche with these men, which haue committed these owtrages (for I beseche God forgeue them): as I am with heresie, by whose meanes these men (not cruell of their owne nature, but muche disposed rather to lenitie and mekenesse) are dryuen in to so greate (I will not saye woodenesse, leste I shoulde offend them, but) sharpp angrinesse in dede, and sore displeasure against their owne eas, neither for neighbourhoode of one natiue soile, nor for integritie of lyfe, ornamēt of learnyng, or flower of aige they can be induced, nor in respect of the prerogatiue of freedome, nor in regarde of the priuilege of priesthoode, nor by intreatie of woordes, nor by abundance of teares they can be moued to take pitie and compassion vppon innocents and guiltlesse men, nor can be stayed backe frome doing extreme and outragious violence. I humblie beseche oure most mercifull and moste mightie God, that this huge offence be not imputed vnto them, but rather that they may finde mercie in the day of oure Lorde, who in their owne day, that is, in

the daye of man, haue ſhowed no mercie to theire bretheren. Eſa. 13. 1. Cor. 4.

But now I omit to ſpeake of the other outrages, whiche in this Tower of London are perpetrated, and patientlie endured. For thoughe they be manie and verie greuous: yet can they not eaſilie come to oure knowleige, by reaſon of that cloſe and ſtraite warde, wherein the ſound of all ſpeche, and mourninge of the afflicted is ſhutt vpp frome the eares of them that are abroade. Nay, oure aduerſaries beſtowe no ſmall diligence in this point: that the afflictions and torments whiche are there practiſed withein doores, be not browght to the knowleige of them that are witheoute: but buried rather in darkneſſe, and cleane hyd in blynde and obſcure dungeons. But yf theſe break foorthe at any time, & the doolefull voice of the afflicted be plainelie heard: then are thoſe felowes greuouſelye offended, and eirher flatlie denie all that was done, or with pleaſant woords extenuate the matter. The ſtraite vvarde & euell entreaty Catholiques in the tovver.

For twyſe nowe of late Maiſter Campian hathe bene pulled on the rack. And what aduerſarie dyd not vtterlie denye

yt? Yet at lengthe the truthe of the matter came to light, when maister Campian him selfe dyd vtter it in an open audience,& in the hearinge of oure aduersaries twit (sayde they) yt was a mery pastime: he was cramped or pulled a lytle, not in ernest, but in ieaste. After the same maner they ieasted of others, whiche had bene racked before. So greate delite these merie conceited felowes doe take, in makinge sportes and sports of the afflictions of sorie poore men.

Oure aduersaries accustomed to lie.

But they haue yet an other stratageme or politike shyft, familiarlie acquainted in this towere: that is, to surmise and forge what they lust of the prisonner,& to publishe it to his shame, and for a trapp to beguile other Catholiques. The thing is euident, and hathe plenty of examples: but because I purpose to be breefe, I will touche but a few.

VVhen maister Campian had bene afflicted wyth torments: it was reported that he had confessed what soeuer they had demaunded of him: specialie at whose howses,& in what places he had bene. And (to geue to the lie his right shape and perfection) it was further bruted a-

brode, that he had promiſed a recantation of I know not what. But that tale no man thowght to be probable: yet there were that doubted thereof, becauſe the aduerſaries had ſo earneſtlye affirmed it. For many gentlemen, and ſome of the nobilitie were called vp to London, frome their owne howſes, and charged with a ſuppoſed confeſſion of maiſter Campiã: And yet in verie truthe (as afterward it well appeared) he neuer yeelded one worde to his torments.

A like ſhyft the lieutenant of the tower vſed, & (of purpoſe to laye a bate to ſeduce others, by ſome example) affirmed openlye at a common ſeſſion, that there were no catholiks vnder his warde, whiche refuſed to goe to the churche of oure aduerſaries: yet it was well knowen to all there, that euen they whome he ment of, went not willinglie to the churche, but vppon compulſion and drawne by violence had bene preſent at a few ſermons, yet they allways openly ſpake againſt the ſame, called the preacher from his rayling ſpeche, and chalenged hym to diſputation, euen in the preſence of the ſame lieutenant albeit angerlie he threa-

In the guildhall at London

ned them often with heuy bolts & shakles. But it is harde by writing to discourse through all the particulers in euery kynde of affliction, whiche the prisoners in that tower doe endure: yet such as haue some tyme bene present vewers of the matter doe tell vs parte: vppon whose faithefull relation I will putt downe this one to geue a coniecture of the rest.

Couper. Ther was a yonge man, of honest parentage, well entred in learninge for he had bene Scholar & seruant to Doctor harpesfeild a verie lerned man, that dyed in pryson for christs cause. This yonge man, for religion and learning sake, had appointed a iourney in to these parts: And being redie for it, made his repare to the hauen (with the wealthe that he had got together in money or other things) of purpose to passe ouer the sea. But by some chaunce the matter was discouered, the yonge man was apprehended by an officer, and sent backe to London: where first he was spoiled of all his goods and caste in to the Tower of London: there he was verie straitelie kept in that part of the prison whiche, ys called Becheams Tower, destitute of all comforte

Beauchip, tower.

and consolation nedefull for man; saiuing one sorie bedd, that his frindes sent, and yet hardlie coulde he be allowed to haue yt. VVithin a while after, this yonge man (beinge but of a weake complection, and accustomed to open and cleare ayre) partlie throughe Hungar and colde, partlie through the filthie sauoure, and lothesomenesse of the place, and corruption of the aire, dyd fall in to a sickenesse, and semed to be vexed with an ache, or giddinesse of his heade. The lieutenant hearinge hereof, deuised a meruelouse straunge medicine for this disease. For he commaunded the bedd to be take awaye, that for the better recouerie of his healthe, he might lie vpon the bare floore. To be short: within fewe dayes the poore mā dyeth, sterued, wasted, & pined awaie by extremitie of colde and Hungar: and thereof remained this euident testimonie and proofe, that when his clothes were to be taken of, that he might be buried: his flesh being putrified and rotten by cold, dyd sticke fast to his hose, and was with the hose pulled of from the bare bones, & fell in gobbetts vppō the grownd: a pitifull sight of a churlishe barbarousnesse

Nevv soon de phisick.

and of an odd kynde of crueltie. Neuer theleſſe there be men yet lyuinge whiche dyd ſee this with their eyes. And (were it not for their perill) I coulde name thē.

And becauſe I am entred in to this kinde of talke: I will be ſome what more liberall than my promiſſe. And one other example I will laie downe, to let you ſee what good ſtore I haue, yf I lyſt to ſet it forthe to the ſhowe.

Sheer wroode. The ladie Stregonell. Martin her ſonne.

An other yong man not vnlike the former, the ſonne of a Catholique cōfeſſor dyd frequent the houſe of a right woorſhipfull ladie, who had a ſonne cleare oppoſite and contrarie to the mother, and one full gorged with Caluine. This man dyd fume and freate in his mynde verie much for that he demed his mother had maſſe oftē times in her houſe by this yong mans helpe and procurement. On a time therfore, as he by chaunce dyd mete the yong man in a ſtrete in London: he crieth verie outragiouſlie, O rebell and traiter: take holde on the traiter, for by this terme they name vs, to make vs more odious: and with this kynde of moſte vniuſt ignominie they vexe vs. Thē they of the citie hearing theſe woordes, trai-

ter and rebell, leape forthe of their shoppes, laye hands on the man, and hale hym to the Iustices or commissioners. And at their next session when he came before them: the exclamer had nothing whereof to accuse the yong man, nothing where with to charge hym, saue onlie à bare suspition of the Catholique religion: for he was not hable to conuince hym of the facte. The commissioners not withstandinge wolde not geue hym leaue to departe. For a presentment of religion is of all other moste adiouse. And yf the presenter want sufficient matter: the presentment is helped and set forwarde by interrogatories and questions, to be ministered by the commissioners them selues.

The Iustices therfore examine the yong man, what he dothe beleeue, or thinke touching the chefe points of faithe. And at last by way of argument they wreste oute, that he supposeth the byshopp of Rome ought to haue chefe authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall, yea, and in England allso. Vpon the hearing hereof: there folowed a like sentence as was geuen in an other session of Iustices. *VVhy require yve any further proofe? yevv haue hearde blasphe-* Marc. 14.

mie, what thinke you? all they cõdemned hym to be giltie of deathe.

Then was he remoued ouer to the tower of London, & there Layde vp in a priuye chamber neare to the place where the ſngines for torments do lie. In the meane ſeaſon his chamber which he had in the citie, was ryfled and ranſacked, and all his goods ſnatched vp, & therewithall aboute thirtie pounds engliſh more, (whiche he had taken vp of other men for debtes oweing to his moſte miſerablie afflicted father) were allſo ſtolen & caried away. VVell, the poore man in priſõ was ſore afflicted with torments, to enforce hym to diſcouer the places where he had heard maſſe: for being but a laye man he coulde not hym ſelfe ſay maſſe. Then, after verie greuouſe torments, which he endured with greate courage (for, ſo much an aduerſarie that had bene there preſẽt dyd cõfeſſe:) he was throwen in to a verie obſcure doungeon, that was bothe darke & dredefull, withoute light, withoute bedding, withoute nedefull apparell. And of his dyet you may eaſilie coniecture, when he coulde not be allowed to haue anie peece or paringe of

his owne goods, no not for the neceſſarie ſuſtentation of his owne lyfe: Nay, there is an other thing that doeth looth me to tell. For when a certein deuoute and charitable man being (vppon the common brute of this yong mans extreme calamitie) moued to compaſſion, had ſente a Sum of money to be conueyed vnto this poore man for his releefe, and by the mean of an other priſoner had deliuered the ſame to his vnder keper (for here eche priſoner hathe his vnder keper): the vnder keper receiued the money, and brought it againe the next day to hym of whome he had yt, and tolde hym that the lieutenant of the tower wolde not ſuffer the poore man to enioy the benefit of that almes. And when the keper was verie earneſtlie requeſted to take parte thereof & beſtowe it in ſome thinge for the poore mans releefe he denyed to take yt, and ſayd that he might not in anie wiſe take apenny, except it vvere ſix pence to bye hym ſtravve to lye vppon. So malitiouſelie bent vvas that lieutenant againſt the ſelie ppore man. M. vvillia Roper.

In the ende after ſix moneths (as I thinke) vvere ouer paſſed in this moſte

greuouse kinde of Martirdome they draw hym forth along throughe the stretes on a hurdle, and hang hym vp a litle, let hym dovvne againe, and then as he is in reuiuing, they afflict hym vvith the other kinde of tortures, vvhiche they vse to practise vppon suche as are traiters to the state, but in farre more terrible maner than they handle those traiters. For oure aduersaries are more rigourouse and more mercyleſſe against vs, than they are against anie sort of malefactors, howe vngratiouse naughtie so euer they be. For when these by order of lawe are to suffer the same kynde of deathe, they fynde suche fauoure, as either they are, by compassion and pitie of oure aduersaries, full deade before they be cut downe from the galowes: or in dede the execution is so handled according to the prescript rule of the lawe, as they are suffered to hang till they be halfe deade at the least, to dull the sense and felyng of payns in the torments folowenge. But farre otherwise it is in the case of Catholiques. For they are no soner hāged, than the hangman enforceth hym selfe in a furiouse maner of haste to cut the haulter

Protestāts are mercileſſe to Catholiques

ter in sunder, & whiles thei are yet aliue and alyue lyke, yea and of perfect sense and feiyng: he bringeth them to the other torments: and this oftentime he doeth so readilie, and with such dexteritie and nimblenesse: as not onlie their senses for moste parte are perfect, but they speake allso distinctlie and plainlie after their bowells be digged vp, yea and whiles the bouchars syngars are scratchinge at their verie harts and intralles.

And yet this bloodie sight woorketh no compassion in the harts of oure aduersaries: but they deride and skorne the sorie poore wights, yea and spitefullie raile against them, euen whiles they are yet in dyeing, and specially yf anie being ouercome with payne doe grone, or happen (whiche is verie rare) to make anie lamentable noyse. For thus a certein preachet of theirs (and not a mean one) in a printed booke doeth collect & conclude, that oure verie Martyres, are not Martyres, because forsuthe (saith he) one of them cried oute in his torments, and (that I may vse his owne woords) *dyd yell and hovvle like a hell hovvnde.* O goodlie sentence well besemyng suche a prea- Felk.

cher. O new fownde charitie of a new fownd gospell: what euer hacker or ruffian wolde haue vttered such a woorde withoute blushing? what euer cutthrote hathe shewed so sauuage and barbarouse a mynde?

But trulie these felowes seme to degenerate cleane from all sense & felyng of humane nature, and to be quite transformed in to (I can not tell what) vnnaturall wildenesse, vtterlie forgetfull of that sentence: *Iudgement vvithoute mercie to hym vvhich hathe not shevved mercie*: And specially of this sayeing. *A hard hart shall fele sorovve in the last day*: This appeareth not onlye by these examples whiche I haue allredy put downe, but by infinite other allso, whiche now I may not prosecute, leste I should be longer than an epistle may suffer. Yet I will note vnto yow some suche things by way of example, as may make the matter moste cleare and euident.

Iac. 3.

Eccle. 2.

M. Tirvvit sonne to Sir Robert Tirvvit.

A certein yong gentleman, of an auncient and right woorshipfull familie, was accused for hearing of a masse celebrated (as it was reported) at the mariage of his sister. VVhere vppon he fled from his fa-

thers house, and kept hym selfe secret in London the yere last past. And there, by reason of his trauaile in flyeing awaye, and (as I think) through the intemperature of the sõmer, he fell in to a greuouse feuer. The aduersaries hearing hereof, doe runne vnto him by and by, and in all haste will nedes pull hym oute of the house, and throwe hym in to prison, euen as he then was, feble, faynt, and greuouslye sicke. This semed to the beholders thereof to be a maner of dealing bothe churlishe & detestable. They pray, they intreate, they make intercession, they vse all the meanes they can, to moue the aduersarie to haue consideration of the sick, not to heape sorow vpon sorow, nor affliction vppon an extremely afflicted man, not to take away the lyfe of so comelie a yong gentleman: they proffer as sufficient assurance for his forth coming, as his aduersaries wolde demaund, and to vnder take for his appearance before the iustices immediatlie vpon the recouerie of his healthe: but it will not be accepted. The phisitions come, they affirm for certein, that he is vtterlie vodone and caste away, yf he shoulde be remoued forthe of that

place in to the inconueniẽces of a prison. All this is nothinge regarded: they layd hands on the sickeman, haled hym away, shut hym vp in prilõ, & with in two days next after he dyed: they burie hym, and make no bones of the matter, nor scruple, or anie regarde at all.

M. Dimmok.

Euen so yt feel oute against a right woorthipfull and valyant gentleman, one (for a peculiar honor in the Armurie whiche he dyd beare) verie famouse, and sonne in law to the right honorable Erle of lincolne. This gentleman had bene troubled many yeres with a vehement palsey, & suche a resolutiõ of his sinewes, as he was not hable to goe forth of his owne house, or moue a foote onte of his place, but as he was lyfted or holden vp by the hands or armes of his seruants. At the last vpon an informatiõ touching the Catholique Religion, preferred against hym to the superintendent of that prouince (for by that terme wolde they be named whiche now detein the possessiõs of auncient bythopriks:) he was noted & appeached as suspected to holde the falthe of his aunceters: and thereupon he was summoned to appeare before the cõ-

missioners as euidentlie giltie of Catholicisme or Catholicque Religion, which they in contempt call papistrie. But this palsey sickeman appeared not. Neuertheleſſe he made his owne excuſe verie aduiſedlie by letters. Yet is it not accepted: for the ſuperintendent hym ſelfe cometh with all ſpeede to the diſeaſed mans houſe, & throwghlie veweth with his owne eyes the impotencie of the gentleman: but no motion of cõpaſſion entereth in to this ſuperintendents breeſte: the cõmaundeth hym to be caried to the Iaile. VVhat nede manie woords? Nether the age of that man, nor his degree in callinge, nor the woorthipp of his kynred, nor the nobleneſſe of his affinitie, nor the reſolution of his limbs coulde deliuer hym from the preſent trouble and miſcheſe of impriſonment.

VVhat folowed? by theſe inconueniences in verie ſhort ſpace after, he dieth. And yet they leaue hym not when he is dyeing: yea then they vexe and afflict hym more. For they come when he is extreme ſick, they come whiles he is wreſtling with the pangs of deathe, they come as he is paſſing oute of this lyfe, they come

whiles he is yeelding vp the Ghoost: then they trouble hym: thé they doe not suffer hym to rest, nor permit hym to die in suche sorte as he desired to die: (for his desire was to die according to the customo of the vniuersall christian churche:) but then the ministers flocke aboute hym: thé they intrude them selues vpon hym: then they vrge him to praye such sorie prayers of their owne making, as in healthe he cõtemned, in sickneſſe with open voice he reiected, and (nowe dum & halfe deade,) by his countenaunce, by signes & tokens, & by gesture of his bodie he dyd vtterlie deteſt and abhorre. VVhat greater vncourteſie, or crueltie rather, can be imagined than this?

Miſtreſſe Thimilbie

But here I may not paſſe ouer in silence an other matter which happened at the same time, and in the same citie. For a yonge gentle woman, vpon licence firſt obteyned, dyd goe for deutie sake to vyſit her huſbãd, & entered in to the priſon where he lay for religion. VVhen this was knowne: the ſuperintendent (as one redie to catche holde of a pray fallen in to his owne snare) geueth cõmaundemẽt to ſhut her vp alſo in priſon. The gentle

woman shortlye after (either vpon some greefe conceiued for this inhumane dealyng, or through terror of some further treacherie, or elles vpon some annoyance taken by the distemperature and lothesomenesse of the place) is possessed with a verie greuouse sickenesse, and falleth into a manifest perill of her lyfe. And when yt was looked for euerie houre that she wolde die: her sorowfull husbande made humble sute that she might be en larged alittle, & remoued (yf it were but for one daye) forth of the prison, to some other place, where she might vse the helpe of skillfull women. But his sute wolde not be hearde. O harts of yron. Greate inhumanitie

I haue nowe bene long enoughe in prisons (my deare frinde Gerard,) & my speche (perhaps) may seme to haue taried ouerlong in this kinde of discourse. But where (I pray you) shoulde I be with better will, than with oure owne fryndes? why do I saye oure owne fryndes? Nay rather with the moste deare fryndes of Christe oure God and Sauioure? for the lyfe of these fryndes is oure lyght: their constancie is oure example: their fortitude is oure woorshipp and honoure: and

theire deathe is oure glorie. VVherfore, I cõfesse, that thoughe in bodye I am absent: yet in spirit I doe cõuerse continuallie with them, & they shall neuer slyppe oute of my mynde. For I preferre their bolts and shackles, I extoll their prisons, I exalte their reproches and contumelies farre aboue the riches, welthe, & diademe of any Cresus, who so euer he be. Yet notwithstanding I wolde leaue these captiues for a time, and goe forthe to visite thé which are toiled & turmoiled abroode, were it not that the fit occasiõ of this place admonisheth me (before I departe) to make mention of a certein bare shyft, or poore starting hole, whiche owre aduersario (vpon the oportunite of imprisonment) taketh hold of, and fortifieth: I meane that deceitfull pretence of a disputatiõ, whiche he wolde be thought to profer to captiues in prison: but to suche as are at libertie he will not yelde therein, no not when he is requested, or becalled and chalenged thare vnto: Nay, nor yelde therein to the selfe same captiues vpon any indifferent or reasonable condition or lawe. And thus the case standeth.

A pretense to dispute.

Aboute twentie yeres past, when there

aduerſaries had expelled vs, before we were called to oure anſwere: and when thei were in full poſſeſſion of oure tombes and habitations: then loe, (vpon a practiſe to geue a ſhowe to the people, that they holde by Iuſtice that which they haue vſurped by violēce) they profered a cōbate, by way of writing, in the whole matter of controuerſie. And here vpon they becalled vs forthe to write, & they challēged ſo many of oure partie, as were either learned in dede, or ſo accompted, with this condition annexed to the challenge, that who ſo euer ſhall wynne the victorie in writing, ſhall be accōpted, ſounder in truthe of teaching.

Proteſtāts prouoke Catholiks to vvrite. And yet forbydd their bookes.

Oure Catholiques moſte willinglie take holde of the condition. Manie verie greate learned mē (though troubled with the diſcommodities of exile) dyd neuer theleſſe write muche in the Engliſhe tōgue, for the defenſe of the Catholique faithe: as thoſe famouſe doctors & Learned clerckes, Saunders, Harding, Fekēs, Alan, Stapletō, Heſkin, Marſhall Dormā, Raſtall, and others. They ſet forth the ſtate of the whole controuerſie verie plainlie: they ſhew what reaſon, authoritie and

truthe we haue on oure ſyde: And they laye wydeopen the greate fraude, falſehoode, lapſe, fall and error, on oure aduerſaries ſyde.

But when they on the other ſyde perceiued them ſelues to be ouer reached by their owne cunnyng, & in a maner beaten downe in this open cõbate: then they deuiſed an other ſhyft, ſuch a one in dede, as in deſperate caſes were neceſſarie, albeit no diſcrete nor ſkillfull meane for the ſafetie of their eſtimatiõ and credite. For they procured the Quenes verie ſharppe and threatnyng iniunction to be proclamed againſt all thoſe perſones whiche ſhoulde haue, reade, receiue, bring or cõuey in to England anie ſuch booke as thoſe, whiche they thẽ ſelues before had vrged the Catholiques to write. Here vpõ what greate vexations from henſe forth oure Catholiques haue endured for theſe bookes. It is no eaſie matter to iudge. For manie haue bene haled to the racke & painbank: manie haue bene ſtreictlie examined vpon their othes: ſome haue bene depelie fined: verie manye haue bene chaſed away, and for feare forced to flye in to exile: An infinite numbre of

Perſecution for Catholike bookes.

houſes haue bene by night ſearched, narowlie peruſed, ryfled and ranſacked in euerie corner: And all, but vpon a light ſuſpition onlie of theſe bookes. And yf anie of theſe books happened to befound in a ſearche: it was (be ye aſſured) a matter ſufficient for a greuouſe preſentment. If a man ſhould byd an aduerſarie anſwere one of thoſe books: it were a vehemēt preſumption (forſothe) of no good ſubiect. If one ſhould ſpeake but a woorde in defenſe of ſuch a booke: oh, that were a plain euidence, yea and a flat verdite of a traiterouſe hart.

Nowe, when oure men ſee them ſelues driuen in to theſe ſtreicts and difficulties, that they coulde not (without verie greate inconueniences and moleſtations) eyther write or ſpeake in the defenſe of the cauſe of God, and of his churche vniuerſall: what dyd they then think you? truſie (euen as it beſemed good & Catholique Chriſtians to doe) as occaſions of matters required, they ſubmitted their bodies to priſons, their hands to giues & manacles, their feete to bolts & ſhackles, their goods to rauine and ſpoile, yea and their liues to perills of deathe. In the

meane seaſon (leſte they might ſeme to diſtruſt their owne cauſe, and by ſile. e to betray gods buſineſſe) thei made a petitiō quietlie and calmelie, for to haue indifferent conferences with their aduerſaries: and (with as muche ſubmiſſion & earneſt ſute as might be) they humblie ſued to euerie magiſtrate, that eyther publick diſputation, or at the leaſt priuate conferēce touching the nowe litigiouſe points of religion might be admitted, vnder reaſonable and indifferēt lawes & cōditions.

The earneſt ſute of Catholiques for libertie to diſpute.

Manie at home, and mani abrode dyd ſolicit this ſute by way of petitiō: ſome applied it earneſtlie by fauour of fryndes: other purſued it by authoritie and credit as they might: and verie many preferred yt by other wayes & meanes. Oure men for theire parts (thoughe by the way of greate diſaduauntages, yet leanyng to the woorde of the prince, and for truthe ſake) offred them ſelues willinglie and gladlie to enter in to this combate, with this onlie hope and confidence, that they truſted, many ſowles, which were redemed with the pretiouſe bloode of oure ſauiour Chriſte, & now are defiledd with hereſie, might with diſceptation by gods

grace be recalled and recouered. VVherupon they gaue to the aduersaries the whole libertie and choyse, eyther to vse their owne homemates, or to call for others forthe of forraigne countries, for the defense of their cause: yea and to appoint the day, to chose the place, to moue the question, to prescribe the order and forme, to beginne, to ende, and to doe all things after their owne will & phantasie, so all wayes, and vpon such condition, as some lawe, rule, forme and order of a disputation might be obserued and kept.

Protestãts distrust their owne cause.

But (to make a short tale) the aduersarie will none of these. For he did foresee (and not vnwisely) that his partie wolde go to wracke, yf the matter were once to be tried by combate, hãde to hande in open fielde. And therfore he refused this open cooping at barriers in Scholes, as to lightsome a place for their dark dealings, and to famouse a triall of their deceit and guile, according to the sayeing of oure Saluioure: *euerie one that doeth euill, hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, to the end that his vvorkes be not reproued: but he that vvorketh truthe, cometh to the light: that his vvorks may be manifest, for they are vvrought* Ioan. 3.

in gaol.

Yet in fine, two practises oure aduersaries (lest they might seme to doe nothing) dyd put in executiō for their more securitie and estimation sake. First, they sturre vp sharper persecution against all Catholiques, but speciallie against the more learned, and against suche as were thought able in this conflict to annoye them with reasonyng. Therfore they remoued from london the Lorde bishopp of lincolne, & the Lorde Abbot of westminster, with others of sownd learning, profownd knowledge, verie muche grauitie, & greate vertue, not a fewe. All these they cast into an vplandishe dongeon, spoile them cleane of all their bookes, debarre them from all intercourse of talke and cōference one with an other, (except at meale time) and shutt them vp close & seuerallie in darke corners. And yf anie besydes of name and accompt were left oute, them allso they call vnto these Iron grates of prisons, that this waye, at the least, they may put all to silence.

The castell of vvisbiche.

Secondlie, when they had contriued all these things according to their owne desires: thē they conuey them selues with

The shifte & craft of ministers in their

greate secrecie in to prisons. There they sett vpō the captiue Catholiques sodainlie ere they be aware, and call them in all haste to dispute of faithe, without anie time before hād to thinke on the matter, or libertie to talke thereof among them selues. And leste they might help or cōfort one an other, or testifie one for an other: they assaile them (for the moste parte) seuerallie, euery man alone by him selfe. And yf anie of oure partie dyd obiect their vneauen dealing, or desire time to consider, bookes for studie, or speche with his companions for instruction, and other things requisite for his defense: and yf anie alleiged further (as some dyd) that there wanted an indifferente iudge to geue the sentence, cōuenient auditorie to beare witnesse, and faithfull notaries to sett downe the arguments in writinge: then loe, oure aduersaries exclamed that we refuse the combate, that we stand vpō bare snyfts of woords, that we seke for excuses, and flye in to holes and corners: Inso muche as manie on oure syde moued with the importunate clamoure of these felowes dyd yelde them selues to all maner of conditions that were offred, put-

pretenste to dispute

tinge their onlie confidence in the goodnesse of their cause.

But what so euer oure men alleiged, yt serued to small purpose there. For either dyd oure aduersaries cõtumeliouslie reiect it, or odiouslie drawe and wrest it to treason, or else moste vniustlie deprave, pervert, and misreporte yt to the people. And thereof I haue many examples: but here a fewe maye suffise.

Diuerse examples of cauills & vntrue surmise of misreport.

First yt fell oute of late, that after the sentẽce of deathe was pronounced against Maister Ianse (the good priest) for the Catholique faith, and he nowe in prison preparing hym selfe to die: there came vnto hym a certein minister vnder coloure of frindeshipp, with a countenaunce setled and framed to an hipocrisie of holynesse, but the vssewe of the matter proued hym to be full of bitter malice, and of euerye subtile shyft to deceiue the poore man. For in speche betwene them two, this minister, besides many other reprochefull woords, dyd charge that martyr of Christe with treason against the Quenes persone: where vpõ when the same martyr had made this answere, that he had neuer offended against the Quenes

maiestie

Maiestie, that he had but onelie made a profession of the Catholike faith and religion, whiche can not betraie nor hurt the Maiestie of anie humane creature, for so muche as aboue all other things it moste pleaseth the Maiestie of God. When good maister hanse (I say) had spoken these and other like woords and said further that he moste willinglie wolde embrase this deathe, sithe he was then cleare in his conscience, that he had neuer committed anie haynouse crime against her maiestie: but rather (according to his dutie) hade commended her to God in his prayers: and that this crime of treason against her maiestie, imputed vnto hym, by his aduersaries, is in truthe neyther anie crime of treason at all, nor any synn in the sight of God. Loe this goodlie gospeller (as one that had catched plenty of matter, whereupon to forge a malitious surmise) passeth forth of the prison, bruteth abrood to the people & publisheth in a libell written and printed, that hanse affirmed no treason to be a sinne before God. Maister hanse hauinge intelligence hereof, complained of this iniurie openlie to the people when he was brought

to the place of execution: and there he opened his meaning towchinge his former woords, and besought god to perdō the accuser, for so vniust, and so odious an vntruthe.

Tripp & Crowley against M. Thomas pounde.

Likewise two ministers for conference sake came into a prison, to a gentleman whiche had bene some tyme a courtier, and then was become a prisoner, & so had bene many yeres, for his faith. And when they had ouerworne and wailted all their matter with contumeliouse and lewed woords, and had wearied the gentleman with blasphemies (as he him selfe by letters complayned), and yet for their parts had not eyther concluded vpon any matter, or refuted any thinge by argumēt: then this gentleman (lest their talke should haue bene altogether ydle and vnprofitable) moued them at length to conclude vpon some certein principall points whervpon they might afterward procede to discusse the rest. And the poīt was this: whether the priuate spirit of eche particular persone, or the common spirit of the vniuersall churche ought to iudge of the sense of holie scripture? For when he had heard them alleige scripture oute

The controuersie.

of all places, and wrongfullie: he affirmed that in theſe matters of controuerſie, a man ſhoulde not runne to the bare letter of ſcripture, in ſuche ſenſe as euerie particuler man lyſt to take yt: (for by this mean all hereſies are defended:) but that we ought to reſorte to the moſte certeyn Iudgement of the churche vniuerſall, at the leaſt way moſte auncient: which being directed by the ſpirit of God, doeth laye downe before vs the true & naturall ſenſe of ſcriptures. And becauſe the miniſters dyd not admitt this grownd, not yet refell yt: but (as theyr faſhion is) runne into corners, creakes and ſtarting holes: he put downe in writing (being but a lay mā, & not muche trauailed in ſcriptures) ſix ſtrong reaſons to fortifie his opinion: whereunto he deſired that the miniſters wolde anſwere, & there with all requeſted that it might be lawfull for him, by ſpeche or penne to confute their anſwers, yf they ſhoulde ſeme to hym either impertinent and doubtfull, or otherwyſe weake and inſufficient.

A neceſſarie principle for deciding of controuerſies.

VVell, when theſe miniſters had got the writinge: thenſe they packe in haſte, & to the ſuperintēdēt of londō they go: & to

hym they coplain of the mans pertinacie, how, notwithstanding their aduises and motions, he refused to be a Caluinian, yea and that he durst take vpō hym to defend his opinion by writing. This superintendent (as in verie dede he is a famish hasty man, and by nature cholerick) being outragiouslie incensed with ire, desineth the gentleman by and by in his mynd to some speciall payne, purposing to punish hym throughlye. And thereupon he thrusteth him sodenlie oute of todō into a streicter kynde of imprisonment: he locketh hym vp in an olde decayed castell, a raw, vnhaunted and obscure place, where he could neyther haue the light of the Sunne or other light, nor yet of men: he loadeth hym wyth yrons, and (not to recite all particulars) he afflicteth hym with extremities meruailouse & without all measure. Now these ministers (being thus put owte of all doubt & feare of their aduersarie) do sett forth a booke, and make a kinde of answer to the reasons by hym before layde downe vnto them: and as in other things, so especiallie in this, they deale moste iniuriouslie with him: for they conceale and dissemble the verie state and

Strateford castell.

principall poins of the queſtion and con-
trouerſie, charging hym to haue ſayde
that the ſcriptures are (in his opinio) of
leſſe authoritie than the churche: where
in truthe he talked not of the authoritie
of ſuche ſcriptures as are euidentlie
knowne to be diuine ſcriptures: but his
talke was eyther touching the knoweing
and diſcerning of ſuch vncertein ſcriptu-
res as haue bene called in queſtion and
doubted of: or touching the vnderſtan-
ding of the ſéſe & true meaning of dar-
ke & obſcure places of diuine ſcripture.

VValker. In the mar thalſey.

Moreouer, a certaine diuine doctor,
and one of ſome authoritie among oure
aduerſaries, came one day (with no ſmall
oſtentation, nor light traine of folowers)
to a certain priſon for diſputation ſake,
as he pretended: (for theſe felowes wold
gladlie beare the people on hand & make
them beleiue that they do offer to oure
men diſputations thick and threfolde,)
there, this glorioufe doctor calleth to ge-
ther in to the halle euery priſoner which
whas ſhut vp in that priſon for religion,
bothe yong and olde, prieſts and lay
folke: he telleth them that he is come to
diſpute: he and his aſſociates take their

seats on the benche, & sitt downe solemnelie. And first of all, though the prisoners were in nũber manye: yet he demaundeth of eche man his name, & dwelling place. Yf any answer not readilie: the diuine by and by wolde fall in a terrible chafe, and shake vp the prisoner outragiouslie. Then before the disputatiõ dyd begynne, one of the prisoners vpon occasion dyd alleige forth of holie scripture some thinge wh che the doctor had denied: whervpon, the sely old man waxeth verie angrie, & in no case will admitt that any suche thing is to be found in scripture: the booke is brought forth, and the thing is recited verie clearlie worde for worde as it had bene alleged. The olde man taketh his spectables and readeth: but for that the booke was an other mans booke, he wold not credit yt, but called for his owne: his cõpanions fall to laughing. And (to be short) withoute further proceding they all arose & departed: and thus the disputation was ended before it beganne. Then the sorye olde fellow (when he seeth that he could not preuaile) falleth a cursing, & wisheth mischef and destruction to the howse and to

So he railed against M. Cotton a priest, for telling his surname & not his proper name.

all the prisoners there. And all this fell oute thus, the keper of that prison being present, and ashamed of the matter. Now, what can be layd more fonde or more ridiculous than this? And yet neuertheless yt was reported for certein and sure, that this mightie Hercules had ouerthrowen and beaten downe the Catholiques: albeit in verie dede he neuer vsed argument but onelie a bare brabling and contention in woords.

There is allso among oure aduersaries one other odde minister, a bygge man in his owne opinion, yet in other mens iudgements he is but meane: how be yt in tongue not vnreadie, yet rathe and headlong, by reason that he knoweth not hym selfe. This fellow not long agoe (hoping to pick owt some peece of estimation by contending with greate personages) crept, vnlooked for, into a prison where the aforesayde learned and reuerend fathers, the bysshop of Lincoln and Abbot of west minister with others of good accompt are imprisoned for religion: And at his first entree he gyueth in commaundement that they all appeare personallie before hym: he telleth them Fulk.

vvisbiche castell.

that he his come to conferre aboute the cheefe litigiouse points of religion: and signifieth his will and pleasure, that they shoulde beginne the dispision. But when those good fathers (as they are wise) dyd perceiue the man to doe all this without warrant, and without anie certein order or forme of conference, but onlie vppon a rashe and vndiscrete heade of his owne, and meerlie for vainglorie: they make smale accompt of him, but contemne such ridiculouse vanitie of the arrogant yong felowe. And therfore when they had spoken something aboute the vnreasonable condition then offred, and of their want of bookes, tyme and other things: they leaue the man to his owne folies, &c (as best beseemed their grauitie) they lett hym passe away, as one by them contemned, rather than vexed. But yet the yong peacocke (as his maner is) aduaunced vp his tayle triumphed abroode with all bravery, and publisheth a pamphlet of his great conquests and victories ouer captiues: In which pamphlet there are many vntruthes, very many friuolouse toyes, and nothing to serue his turne, nothing to make for his side, but were

vanitie, and that euen by his owne declaration, as he hym ſelfe telleth his owne tale.

But when ſuche huddling & ſhyfting of matters was knowne, ſo as manye euen of oure aduerſaries, dyd miſlike yet (for it had allmoſte bredde a cõmon quarell, & had wellnigh putt into the peoples heades ſome ſuſpition that theire cauſe was ouer throwen:) Some there were which (to ſalue this ſore and to take away the infamie) made a certaine promiſe that within ſhorte ſpace there ſhould be a diſputatiõ with cõditiõs very indifferent and verie reaſonable. And thereupon, the knight Marſhal writeth vnto the keper of the Marſhallſey, and cõmaundeth hym to inquire and ſignifie, yf anie papiſts vnder his charge wolde mainteine their cauſe by diſputatiõ: that they ſhoulde ſend to him in writing ſuch cõcluſions as they wolde defend, and ſhoulde ſubſcribe their names, make them ſelues redie to diſpute: that he hym ſelfe wolde aduertiſe them verie ſhortly of the maner, place and time of the diſputation.

In Nouember. 1580

A newe diſputation appointed

This thyng pleaſed all men. Three of oure preiſts, thoughe yonger in yeres, &

M. Roſtrace. M Shyrwin. M. Hart.

of lesse reading (for such as were of more abilitie & experience were all sent away from London as I told yow before): yet with a certein good assurance, trust and confidence in their cause, doe vnder take the charge: And therfore they close vp certain conclusions in writing, subscribe theire names, and send them awaye to the knight Marshall with greate thanks. But the conclusions please not oure aduersaries: they appoint others accordinge to their owne phantasie & send them back. Theese oure men doe allowe: the day for the disputation is appointed: greate is the expectation thereof. But what folowed? Forsothe, in the day (as I think) next before they should dispute, the aforesayde defendants on oure syde were remoued from the prison of the Marshallsei, and conueyed to the tower of London to be racked: that sithe they wolde not be taught nor persuaded with reasons fett from authoritie, they might there be trayned vp and exercised with argumets deriued from the rack and torture.

But yet all this coulde not terrefye oure Catholiks frō their sute touching a disputation to be had with an indifferent

cōditiō. VVher vpō a noblemō, & one of the cheefe of her Maiesties moste honorable Councell, moued (as I think) with the vrgent petitiōs of some Catholiques, agreed thus farre at lengthe, that in this common sute, he wolde in a priuate maner satisfye some principall persones that were then in prison for religion. For he called them vnto his chamber, and sayd, that vpon the loue he bare vnto them, he was moued to agree vnto their requests, and desired them to shew them selues indifferēt and diligent hearers, and not peruerslie obstinate in a desperate case: And sayd further, that he putteth no doubt, but by this one conference of verie well learned men, the truth of the matter might moste easilie be discouered. The gentlemen shew them selues willing to be conformable to that request, and humblie thanke his Lordeshypp for so greate a benefite. But they looke aboute yf they coulde see anie Catholique diuine to defend their cause by disputation (for there were foure ministers present to impugne it) yet they fynde none: they merueile muche: neuerthelesse they speake not a woorde of yt: Because they

Thee Erie of Lecestre

D. Laurence hūfrey vvith his fe lovves.

wolde se the ysswe and ende of the matter.

Adam Squier.

And at the last vp riseth a minister from the benche, and (with verie great commendatiõs of his associates before) downe he goeth as smothelie as may be among the prisoners, & offreth hym selfe to be oure spokesman, and to pleade oure cause. Who cowlde forbeare laughing, yf the reuerence of the place wold haue admitted a skorne? who wold not haue pitied oure case, to see vs thus frustrate and disapointed of oure owne frendelye counsailers, and cõmitted to the defense of none but of oure foes? Yet forsoothe he geueth vs fayre woords, & will nedes beare vs on hand that he will support vs with his faithfull assistãce. And thereupõ he steppeth furth, and vp he lerketh his hands, & whites of his eyes to heauẽ ward, (as his maner is) and (full deuoutlye lyke a good man) he there vndertaketh the defense of the cause: but of what cause I pray yow? forsoothe euen of that same cause, which before (like an apostata) he had betrayed and forsaken, and made his bragge thereof when he had so done. But who wolde beleeue a skornfull and light

tryfeler? Ys there anie so madde (think yowe) as to cōmit so weightie a cause to hym that pleadeth in skorne? or to trust a leasting disputer with a matter of saluation vpon his bare worde: who (as it is reported) can not be trusted of his creditors in a money matter, no not vpon his othe when he sweateth moste depelie?

And these are all in a maner, that can be sayde of the disputations or coferences with ministers in matters of learning. For I doe not remember, that oure aduersaries euer yeelded to graunt any disputation to Catholiques, besides these whiche here I haue mentioned: sauyng onlie the late disputation whiche they graunted to maister Campian, being the a prisoner, & twise before that tyme racked, destitute of bookes, and vnprouided of all things, sauing onlie of a good cause, & of a well willing mynde. But as for that disputation, we heare (euen by the testimoni of the which were present) of muche parcialitie, & iniurie therein vsed, yea & of mani such odd shyfts, as perhapps to learned men might seme skant credible: but we are so admonished by examples in experience of former tymes, as we are

The disputatiō vvithe father Campian.

And once again racked syns the tyme here mentioned.

forced to mistrust any thing, beyt neuer so vnliklie, towching the indirect dealing of timourous and falseharted men in a naughtie cause. For who is ignorant, that nede maketh the naked man to runne, or that the swoorde of necessitie is of all other most daungerous? or who doeth nor verie well vnderstand that old prouerbe, pouertie maketh many theues, and that error and want in a desperate case, leade many men into vnhoneste wayes? but now let vs digresse a litle while to other matters, for me thinks I haue spoke enough of prisoners. And though their condition seme harde and painfull: yet is the condition of those men eyther more painfull, or more intricate, and more incumbred, whiche liue abroade vnder some colour of libertie, and are neuerthelesse vexed and shaken with stormes and tempests. For they whiche are shutt vp close within the limittes of prisons; though in other respects they seme to be full of calamitie, yet in this one point seme verie happie, that in mynde they haue some quyetnesse and tranquillitie. But the Catholiques which are abrood I mean those that are dwelling di-

The afflictiō of Catholiques owte of prisons.

ſperſed through England, are neither ſuffred to reſt nor abyde any where: but are toſſed and tormoyled to and fro, as it were with waues & wyndes in continuall vexatiõs and troubles. For where ſo euer yow wolde ſett youre feete, what way ſo euer you vvold goe by ſtreete or pathe, yovv may ſee lamentable ſights: this man to flye awaye: that man to lye hydden in a corner: an other to conuey hym ſelfe priuilie in diſguiſed apparell; ſome apprehẽded and led to the iuſtice: others to be ſought for & not taken: many to abyde amõg buſſhes and vvoods: agreate nombre to haunt the feilds in the daye tyme, and neuer to repaire home but at mydnight.

Searching of houſes by night.

And yet when they are at home in their owne houſes: they can not ſo be in ſecuritie one houre. For at midnight oure aduerſaries oftentimes ruſhe in forcibly vpõ them, and ſett a watche aboute the houſe, that none may eſcape: then they ſearche euery chamber, euen the bedchãbers of wiues and maidens: aboute they goe throwgh all the houſe from place to place, vveweing, toſſing, & rifeling in euery corner, cheſts, coffers, boxes, caſkets

and closetts. And yf anie thing happen to be fownd that maye woorke some detection of religiō, or may brede anie blame, or minister matter of surmise: as siluer chalices, patens, candlesticks, crosses, books, vestments, & other ornamēts whiche are called churche stuffe: these they snatche away, by a priuiledge of robberie, and by the prerogatiue of their gospell: for other lawe thei haue none to maintaine these their doeings. And that these things may not goe alone, they catche holde oftentimes, for companie, of what so euer other thing lyeth bye. And lest anye thing els should be lost by negligence, they stick not to ryfle the bosomes, purses, and coffers of honest matrones, yea and to vncouer their verie innermost garments, & oftentimes to teare & ret the a sunder with violence, to see yf anye Agnus dei, crucifix, medalls, beads or anie halowed things doe lye hydd there. These pageants their sergeants doe play, their catchepoles I mean, whome they call pursyuants, those hungrye storuen beasts runing moste fiersile on euery pray or bootye: And in the power of these felowes yt lyeth, whō so euer they

do

do finde in the house eyther to commit to prison, or at theyr will and lyking to trouble with other vexations, except they be annoynted with the oyle of the sinner, and pacified with some gratefull sacrifice of money. Psal. 140.

This is the peace and rest which oure Catholiques do finde at home in their owne houses. Lett vs see a litle what interteinment they doe synde abroade. I haue tolde you howe these purlyuants lyke theuyth night fyendes do runne withe deadelie hatred to doe displeasures in howses: we maye add hereynto, howy they besett the common wayes and crosse streetes with ambushements lyke noone daye deuills. For yf any of oure men, whose name is presented, doe happen to passe through eyther citie, towne or villaige hym they apprehend in the commō streete. Yf anie enter in to anie citie yea by night, and be betrayed or bewrayed by the detectiō of some espiall, taleteller or pickthanke (wvereof wve haue greate store:) hym they hale and drawv forth of the common tauerne, or ynne: but thoughe one be neyther presented, nor bewrayed, yet ys he not for all that in Psalm. 99.

safetie, except he vtterlie eschevve all companie and conuersation vvith men: For by many vvayes and means, euen vpon a light suspition onlie may a man be brought in perill: As for example, yf a man doe refuse to eatefleſche on dayes prohibited by the churche: yf he be sene to pray some vvhat earneſtlie, and spetiallie in latin prayers: yf he bleſſe hym ſelfe vvith the ſigne of the croſſe: yf he counſail anie to faſt, or moue one to virginitie or ſingle lyfe: yf he ſome vvhat earneſtlie commend the auncient fathers: yf he ſay or affirm any thinge on the behalfe of the Catholique religion, or confute a verie manifeſt vntruthe of oure aduerſaries: Nay, when others by courſe one after an other doe raile and ſpeake reprochefully againſt the Catholique religion, yf he (for his part onlie) holde his peace and ſpeake neuer a woorde: anye of theſe is matter ſufficient to bring a man in queſtion for religion. And to be ſhort, In Nouember 1583. there is extant an edict and lawe, not long a goe publiſhed, wherby euery man hathe power and authoritie to preſent, appeache, or accuſe anie mā, who ſo euer he be, vpon euerie leaſte circumſtance,

whiche may induce anie ſuſpitiō or ſurmiſe of the Catholique religiō. By meane whereof, manye ſynce that tyme haue bene apprehended, and verie manie haue bene afflicted with diuerſe vexations & aduerſities.

But there is one maner of roughe dealing (for I vvill not vſe a more greuouſe terme) vvhich afflicteth more thā all the reſt: I meane that, vvhiche oure men doe finde and feele in ſutes of lavve, in triall and Iudgements before iuſtices, in priuate buſineſſes, and in the common conuerſation and entercourſes of lyuing to gether one vvith an other. For this is a matter vvhiche in dede toucheth the verie veines and ſinevves of the naturall ſocietie of mankinde, that are nouriſhed and preſerued by Iuſtice & humanitie or gentle behauioure: & doe deteſt allcruell barbarouſnes. But for my parte, I doe neyther complaine, nor thinke it mete to complain, yf neyther fauour be ſhevved vnto oure perſones, nor pitie nor compaſſion to oure eſtate and condition, be yt neuer ſo afflicted or miſerable, (for I can be content, ſithe they will nedes haue yt ſoe, that ſuch humanitie and ciuile cour-

teſie as nature graunteth euen among enemies be denied vnto vs their bethren, for the hatred whiche they beare to oure religion:)yet in verie truthe, for ſo muche as there be ſome, whiche are not ſatiate with the rigour of lawes, and greuouſneſſe of paines and puniſhments layed vpon vs all readie, but they will nedes add a bitter vexation of malice and euell will of their owne deuiſe and makinge: inſo muche as eyther by pretenſe of lawe they yſe rigoure againſt vs, where there is no lawe to warrant them: or elles they extēd the rigoure of the law, further than the mynde of the lawmaker dyd reache: and that in greateſt, and moſte weightie cauſes, euen ſuche as concerne oure liues and ourn bloode: no mā ſhoulde wounder, yf we mourne, yf we lament, yf we ſighe and grone a litle vnder ſo great a bourden of calamitie.

The greate rigoure of ſome Iudges againſt Catholiques.

Lett vs therfore ſee, what Catholiques doe endure allſo in this maner of perſecution, which ariſeth vpō hatred and deſpite of the chriſtiane religion. Fyrſt, there is a certein law (which before I haue recited) that, who ſo euer ſhall obteine frō the byſhopp of Rome bulls or publick

Page. Nō ber 2.

instruments, or bring the same into England: he must be reputed guiltie of hyghe treason. Nowe admit this to be a moste Iuste lawe: (for I doe not here entreate of the equitie and indifferencie of the lawe, but of the mynde and intent of the lawe:) VVhoe seeth not that the intent of this lawe was onlie to except, prouide & take order, that the pope shoulde not determine or appointanie suche thyng to be done, touching causes or affayres of England, as he was wont to doe by way of bulls (as they terme them) or writts Apostolique? And yet not withstanding, not longe agoe, when a certein bare copie of the bull, conteinynge a denuntiation of a yere of Iubiley, then past, was fownde: albeyt the same perteined not to English men: allthough it was printed withe in an other princes dominions: allthowgh the force therof was determined more than a yere before: although it lay (as matter of no accompt) among onlie torne & cast papers: all this not withstanding: the greuousenes of the matter was so vehementlie enlarged, & aggrauated by the seueritie of a Iudge: as a priest in whose chāber the copie was fownd, was, for that same

1575.

A notable point of iniustice.

Iudge Mā vvoude. M. Maya priest.

M. Trugiõ

cause, put to a moste cruell deathe: and a gentleman of greate woorshipp, though ignorant of the matter, yet beause he enterteined the same prieste in his howse, was by the sentence of the same Iudge turned owte of all his goods & possessiõs (which were very worshipfull) and cast in to perpetuall prison.

At dorcester the fifth of September. 1581.

Again, before the same Iudge and promoter, (for he executeth bothe those offices against Catholiques) a certein honest man was arraigned of highe treason, vpon the one and twentieth capitall lawe before mentioned, becausse he had geuen a reason to one of his neyghboures, whie he hym selfe might not goe to the churches of protestants with a safe cõscience. Nowe, this Iudge dyd interprete the mãs wordes in suche a sense, as yf by the reasõ which he gaue, he ment to haue drawne his neighboure to his owne opinion, and cõsequentlie to haue dissuaded him from the Religion of England, and by an other cõsequence to bring him to the obediẽce of the byshopp of Rome. So long are the snares which are sett to intrapp oure bloode. But ther is yet an other seuere practise of this Iudge, to geue more

page. 67. Nuber. 21.

A hard cõstruction of a lawe.

shewe of his cruell mynde in this matter. For when yt was referred to a Iurie (as the custome of the countrie requireth:) and that the inquest could not fynde the offēce to be so greuouse as deserued death: they were compelled by the authoritie of the same Iudge to fynd it to be a matter of treason: suche a practise as was neuer wont to be vsed, nor ought to be vsed against any man, were he neuer so farr past hope of grace, neuer so detestable naughtie.

The lavv against vagabunds.

And where there is a law in England that suche slouthefull beggars as will not abyde in one certain place, but idelie roaue abroad frō place to place like vagabunds should be whipped and burned in the ears with an hote yron: yt so fel owte that a yong man, born of honest and riche parēts, sikil full in humaine learning, hauing left his studie for a tyme, and going from Londō to visit his fryndes was apprehēded, and brought before a Iudge for religion. VVhat affinitie is here with the persones noted to be punishable by this lawe? yet becawse the yonge man was thē latelie come forth of ffraunce, & had bene trayned vp in the popes Seminarie: ther-

Marck Typpe

Fletewood. fore and haſtie froward Iudge, in deſpite and malice that he beareth to the Chriſtian religion & Catholique cauſe, wolde not dimiſſe the poore man before he was whipped throughe Londō, and odiouſlie burned in the eare. The like puniſhement touching burning in the eare was executed verie latelye at the Citie of yorcke (as I haue hearde) & vpō a prieſt. And I could Fulk. recken vp a great nomber of like ſtrict dealinges of Iudges againſt Catholiques: but this may ſuffice for a complaint. God Eſa. 11. which *Iudgeth the poore in iuſtice, and requi-* Pſal. 30. *teth the prowde abundantlye.* Oure Lorde Ier. 29. *which is bothe Iudge and witneſſe* (as Ieremie ſaithe), *& will Iudge in meaſure againſt* Eſa. 27. *meaſure, when meaſure ſhall be caſte awaye,* pardone theſe Iudges for ſo wicked and ſo vniuſt iudgements.

But what might a man ſay to the wickednesſe of this tyme? whether now (good God) whether now haue theſe exulcerate and rancorouſe controuerſies towching matters of faith and religion thruſte vs? how haue they plucked vs downe? no nation in the worlde adourned with ciuil maners: no countrie indued with the holie lighte of Chriſts Goſpell:

no people ſtructed with Chriſtiã lawes & cuſtomes, was euer eyther better framed to courteſie and humanitie, more diſpoſed to beneficence and fryndelie behauioure, more inclined to the loue of equitie, more bent to pitie and mercie, than this Engliſh people and nation was, before ſuche time as this vnluckye, deteſtable and peſtiferous hereſie had hardened the hart, and intrailes of loue, infecting them with deadelie poyſons of malice. For this is ſhe that hathe ſhaken in ſunder the bolts and bares of right and equitie: this is ſhe that hathe diſſolued the bonds of loue and amitie: this is ſhe that hath blowen vpp the fowndations of mercie and beneficence: this is ſhe that hath cutt in ſũder the veines & ſinewes of the cõmon ſocietie of men, and with a fyendelie force and tempeſtuous violence hath knocked together the membres thereof and beaten them one againſt an other into miſerable diſorder & confuſion.

But now perhaps (frinde Gerard) the time wolde require me to make ſome ende of this epiſtle: for me thinks I am verie long: and I owght to haue care that I wearie yow not with a reporte ſo greuouſe

and lamentable, as in truth it can not but vehemently trouble yow (I think) whils youe are reding it, seing yt woorketh suche passions in my selfe in writing it, as some times I can not refraine frō weping, whiles I considre, eyther what I haue writen, or what I haue omitted. For there be farr moe things that ought to be suppressed and passed ouer in silence, rather than here to be cōmitted to writing: partly for that I should charge my selfe with an infinite laboure in reciting all the particulars: partly, because the certain knowlege of very many things in these difficulties and troubles of tymes and causes, can not be had: but moste especiallye, for that the explication & notice of the principall matters, and the discouerie of the persones whome they concern, do runne to gether in such sort, as they can not be so seperated that the matters may be well vnderstoode, nor so annexed as the persones may not be damnified. For the things can not be committed to publick speche or writing, but that the persones may be drawne therby in to priuate perill. Lett vs ther fore leaue these things to them which are to come after vs, that they

may eyther cõmit them to writing whan oportunitye ſhall ſerue: or elles in the meane time, with inward amaſedneſſe, & ſecret ſorow meruaile and be waile the caſe.

Now theſe things whiche I haue tolde may ſuffice to miniſter matter, eyther for ſorow and heuines, or for a leſſon and example. For oure calamitie ought to be a perpetuall leſſon, not onlie to oure ſelues and oure poſteritie but to all Catholiques alſo through the woorlde; howe terrible a thing it is (as the Apoſtle ſayeth) *to fall in to the hãds of the liueing god:* And to refuſe *to doe the vvoorthie vvoorkes of pennance:* yea, after mẽ haue bene therũto admoniſhed. For oure owne ſynns and the ſynns of oure parents and auncetours haue layde vpon vs this moſte heuye and painfull ſcourge of God, whiche will wax heuyer withowte doubt, and reache further, yf the Iuſtice of God, (by due repẽtance of Catholiques, and amendement of their ſinfull lyues) be not preuented. Heb. 10.

And as for ſorow, particular or common, (frind Gerard,) who wolde not iudge that the things now by me recited may procure ſorowe, and heuyneſſe

enough, eyther to yow or me, or to anie Catholique who so euer: for as they be verie manye, moste greuous, and haunt vs daylie: so in respect of the cause, they are moste vniust: for their maner of dealing, they are moste adiouse, and for the Innocencie of the persones wich suffer, they are moste vnsemelie & full of indignities. Neuertheleſſe (as I haue sayde before) I coulde not touche euery speciall matter, nor yet the chefe and principall points: then muche leſſe is any man able to putt downe in writing the particularities of matters moued in that strict maner of examination, practised by oure aduersaries against vs, with interrogatories so drawn in length by peece meale, with suche searching and siftyng euen in to the smalleſt motes that may be discerned, so curiouslie, so circumspectly, with so many eyes caste vpon a man, and with so many notes, and obseruations as nothing can escape them. And yf a woorde, yea a peece of a woorde slipp forth of a mans mouthe at vnwares, or that he happen to geue but a wink with his eie, or a nod with his heade, whereby anie suspition may arise, that he fauoureth oure cause; there

The straite examination of Catholiques.

is then matter enough, wherupon eyther to accuse hym, or to cast hym in prison. As of late (by report) some were put in prison for speaching a few words in commendation of Catholiques touching the late disputations.

But beholde a more straūge practise putt in executiō by oure aduersaries, not many dayes a goe. For all the students abyding withe in the vniuersities, were by thē enforced vpon their othes, to discouer and appeache euery persone, whome so euer they knewe or suspected to fauour the Catholique religion in hart: to this intent and purpose (with oute doubt,) that they might driue away all suspected Catholiques forthe of the vniuersities. Nowe I praye yowe, looke well In to this deuise. This matter of suspecting, how farr dothe yt reache think yow? howe easilie is it couered vnder the cloke of dissimulation? how redily dothe yt attend vpon hatred and enuie? what licentiouse scope doeth it geue to ambition? how much force dothe it bring to yll will & malice? & how sharpe spurre is it to pricke forwarde euerie kind of reuenge? See then an experiment fallen oute euen of the present occasiō of In Augu. 1584.

In Oxford.

this depe deuise. A minister forsoothe did accuse one vpon suspitiō of the Romaine religion. The persone accused dyd aske the minister what he had for hym to induce that suspition: because (sayd the minister) I doe not see yow resorte so much to sermons, as yow wolde doe, yf yovv vvere feruent in the zeale of oure religion. How weightie and strong is this cōiecture, to enforce an accusation? Alas full grenous and troublesome is the state & cōditiō of them vvhich euen by lawes and publick authoritie are subiect to these stormes of malice, and to these tempests of the surmising forgerie of sycophants.

A foliſh surmiſe of a miniſter.

And because I am talking here of that prōptnesse, facilitie and rashe disposition to accuse, whereby oure aduersaries vsuallie do charge vs with offenses, and do surmise slaunderous tales, & meere cauills against vs, and that vpon moste friuolous and impertinent occasiōs: And albeit for hast I thought to haue omitted this point: yet one example I will leaue for this place: whereby youe maye perceiue, that we are not onele accused for small and tryfeling matters, but blamed

and punished oftentimes for the benefits whiche we bestowe vpon them. The historie is notably well knowne, pleasant allso, and yt will geue to youre Italians there (beside matter to maruaille at) some patern allso of the estate and condition of oure affairs and troubles. And thus it is.

An historie touching restitution.

A courtlike gentlemā of good vvelth, that had liued in much brauerie hapned to fall sick. And vvhiles he vvas lyeing in great pain: he dyd fall (as at that tyme ytt happeneth often to the most recheleſſe) in to a vehement cogitatiō & depe studie of the lyfe to come. VVherevpō he called for a prieſt (for in mynde and opinion he vvas Catholique) that by his aduise and counsaile he might learne to dye vvell. The prieſt (according to his deutie, and the custome of the Catholique churche) admonished the sickman amonge other things that yf he had anie vvaye hurt or iniured any man, or vniustlie possessed other mens goods: he shoulde go aboute by and by to make restitution accordinge to his abilitie. The sick man dyd agree to doe so, and called to remembrance that he had taken awaie somewhat from a certain Caluinian vnder colour and pretense

of law in dede, but not vnder anie goode assurance for a Catholique conscience to truste vnto: therfore he tooke order for restitution to be made, & died. The widow, his wyfe being verie desirous to accomplish her husbands will, and affraied to committ the matter to an heretique, was in verie greate perplexitie of mynde, and coulde not ridd her selfe out of it. Now whiles she was thus intangled in the bre-
M. Alvvai. res of dowbtfullnesse: by good happ a priest cometh to her she declared her greefe vnto hym, and beseecheth hym for gods sake to helpe her, eyther with his trauaille or with his counsaile.

Now the good man, whā he perfectlie vnderstoode the deuoute and holie desire of the gentlevvoman, being hymself a verie zelouse and charitable man, vvillinglie profered to put hym selfe in all perill that might befall in doeing the thing which she desired, persuading hym selfe that no man vvold be so cruell and barbarous as of a benefit to desire reuēgemēt. The thyrd day in Easter vvcke. Therfore first he commended the matter to God, then he mounted on horse back & avvaye he goethe on his Iourney. And when he came to the towne vvhere the

man

ma dyd dwell to vvhome the monei vvas to be deliuered: he setteth vp his horse in the next Inne, that he might be readier at hand, for scaping immediatlie after his businesse vvere dispatched: he goeth hym selfe to the creditors house, he calleth the man forth alone, taketh hym by the hand, and leadeth hym a side from the companie of others. Then he declareth that he hath money for hym, vvhiche he vvolde delyuer to hym vvith this condition, that he inquire no further, eyther vvho sent yt, vvho bringeth yt, or vvhat the cause or matter is, but onlie receiue the money, and vse yt as his ovvne. The olde felovv promiseth faire, and with a good will geueth his woorde faithfulli to doe so, and with many thanks he dimisseth the man, and sendeth hym away.

Fisher of vvatvvick.

Tvventie pounds english.

The good priest with all the speede he was able to make hastneth to his hostes house, for to catche holde of his horse & flie away: but all in vaine For forthwith the deceitfull old felowe betrayed the priest, and sent men after to apprehēd hym. And first to begynn with all, they made this surmise against hym, that forsothe he is not a man but a deuill, whiche

Tvvo of the sayd fysshers brethren.

He is take for a deuill vvhich maketh restitution of ill gotten goods.

had brought money of his owne making to bewitch the olde man. And for a proofe there of, they vsed this argument among others, that he had a blacke horse. And this horse they dyd obserue & watche diligentlye whether he dyd eate haye as other horses eate or no. And as for the priest, they put a horse lock aboute his legg, shutt hym vp close in a strong chāber, and appointed a felow to be with hym continually bothe day and night, which shoulde watche yf he dyd put offe his bootes at any time, & if his feete were like horsefete, or that he were cloué footed: or had fete slyt and forked as beasts haue. For this they affirmed to be a speciall marke whereby to know the deuill, vvhen he lyeth lurking vnder the shape and likenesse of a man. Then the people assembled aboute the house in greate nūbres, and profered money largelie that they might see this monstre vvith their ovvn eyes. For by this time, the people are persuaded that he is in dede an yll spirite or a verie deuill. For vvhat man vvas euer heard of (say they) vvhiche (yf he had the mynde, vnderstanding and sense of a man) vvoolde of his ovvn voluntа-

ſie vvill and vvithoute anie reſpect or conſideration at all geue or proffer ſuche a ſumme of money to a man vtterlie vnknovven, of no acquaintance vvith hym, and a mere ſtraunger of an other countrie.

Novv vvhen they had thus contumelioulie vexed Chriſts ſeruant a vvhile: they pretended to ſett the man at libertie, and licenced hym to depart and goe avvay vvhether he vvolde: yet all vvas but a deceiptfull practiſe to vvork him more ſpite and iniurie. For loe, the vngrateful & churliſhe Caluiniſt, vvhiche had receiued the monei, ſent oute priuilie a ſuborned felow to ſtay the good prieſt as he vvas goeing forth: to with holde him from eſcaping away: and to accuſe hym of high treaſon. This was no ſooner done than the man was all ryfled, and ſpoyled: his horſe ridden and vſed as pleaſed them, his money all taken from hym, ſauing a litle portion to ſerue for his expenſes to the citie of London, whether ſhortly after they ſent hym as a priſoner with a ſtrong and curioſe garde. And when he came thither, and had opened the matter to her maieſties Councell (or rather to one of

The brother of the ſaid ſiſter

thé, that the matter might not be vttered abroade to the reproche of the deade:) he was by them casten of, and put ouer to the Superintendent of London, and by hym throwne, first into one prison, then in to an óther, and thyrdlie in to the Tower of Londō, vvhere the space wellnigh of a quarter of a yere (hardlie escaping the racke and tortures) he was sore punished for that heinouse offence (forsuthe) of restitution.

That is, first in to his ovvne porters lodge: thē in to the gate house at vvestminster.

And here the recitall of this historie putteth me in remembrance of that ridiculous and wanton maner of chasting of oure aduersaries (as oure moste auncient enemies were wont to doe) in slaundering Catholiques to be of familiar acquaintance vvith deuills. And I might sooner lacke time thā matter, yf I should recken vpp all the surmises, and fables whiche they haue forged, touching this point. But among many this is one. Poules steple in London was meruailouslie (a fewe yeres synce) blasted with lightning, and sett on a light burning fyre ragiouse hoate and skant extinguishible: Oure aduersaries layde the fault and blame thereof vpon vs, & were not a shamed to say

Poules steple burned.

that it was done by lugglings and coniurings practised by Catholiques. Again, it hapned that certein charmes or inchaunements, and deuises of witchecraft wound vp togither in peeces of parchement with figures, characters & suche like fond toyes, and hydde in the grownde, were at lengthe fownd by certein persones: The matter was supposed to haue bene contriued for some mischefe or destruction to the Quenes Maiestie. But who was he among all oure aduersaries which did not charge Catholiques with that fact? yet loe, not long after, yt was fownd owt and proued, that a certein minister was the Author and principall of this sorcerie, & had diuerse complices & accessaries whiche were verie zealouse gospellers: whereupon all was huyght sodainlie: yea (as busye as they were before) now they say not one woord of the matter, sauynge that some (to turne the fault frome one to an other, that the blame might fall som way on Catholiks) sayde that this minister had perhaps dissembled his religion and was a verie papist in his hart. A like surmise was deuised vpō an accident that hapned in a citie and vniuersitie, VVhere

The minister of Newington.

Oxford.

a booke bynder for speaking some woords in the fauoure of the Catholique religiō was arraigned at the assises, before the Iudges, and roughlie handled by all the benche. For beſyde muche griefe and vexation whiche he endured in priſon: the matter fell owt thus at the laſt, partlie by the verdit of the Iurie, and partlie by the rigoure of the Iudges: that the poore man was fyrſt made to ſtand openlie in the market place to his reproche and infamie, then were his eares nayled hard and faſt to a poſte and a knyfe was put into hys owne hand, there, with all to cutt his owne ears in ſunder & ſo to delyuer hym ſelfe. This was a ſeuere ſentence aboue meaſure as many men then dyd think. But what folowed? A wonder full Iudgement of God vndowbtedlie. For withein few dayes after, the two Iudges, and well nigh all the iurie, many of the iuſtices & freeholders, with verie many other of them whiche had bene preſent there, dyed all of a ſtraunge kinde of diſeaſe, ſome in the ſayd citie, and ſome in other places. But all the blame for this was layd vpon Catholiques: all this was imputed to magike and ſorcerie, as practiſed by Catholiques.

VVhat safety then or securitie (friad Gerard) is there for vs? In how hard termes stand we think yow, when not onlie other mens faults are layed vpon vs, but the manifest Iudgements of allmightie God are peruerslie interpreted to oure inconuenience and infamie?

I could neuer make ende yf I shoulde prosecute all the other means whiche our aduersaries woork to the dishonoure and slaunder of oure cause: For yf they may find one (be he neuer so base & so badde) which can tell anie reprochefull tale against Rome: or bringe anie tydinges sownding to the rebuke thereof, or of any others which are thought to fauoure our faith and religion: albeyt that the stuffe which he bringeth, or the tale whiche he telleth be either nothīg but verie rakinges of the sinke & cānells of filthie detractiō, or else voyde of all probabilitie or appearāce of truthe: yet such a felow is for theyr toeth: hym they take holde of as affectuouslie as they can, and obtrude him to the people as a prophet: to hym they geue free leaue, and libertie to talke, to dispute, to preache, and to write what so euer he lusteth according to his owne

So vvar Io. Nicol. a grammarion, and

minister coming from Rome & lying of Rome. Set vp in the pulpet & honored vvith an honorable presence.

phantasie & pleasure, so he doe it by way of despite and contumelie against the Catholique religiō. Now whence cometh so great rancour and hatred? wherof springeth so muche displeasure and malice? what may be the cause of all this spite and enuy? can ye tell? Yea but they rest not thus: they stay not with in this degree of immodestie: nor are content to be kept with in these limits of folye: they run headlong much further: for yf there be none to be fownde, which can tell skornfull and scoffing tales, nor throw vp on heapes any filthynesse, nor obserue and note any misbehauiours against Rome: then doe these felowes forth of theyr owne forge coyne and create new miracles and wondres of Rome, to doe them selues some pleasure or seruice in pulpets, tables, & books. And to such an effect they haue latelie settforth in a printed pāphlet many merueilous things to haue happened the last yere at Rome, & that by the space of many dayes. VVherby they woulde make vs beleiue that God by greate and straunge signes and tokens doeth shew his wrath and indignation against that citie, for they tell vs of two Sunnes and two

The 23. 24. 25. daies of Ianuarie. 1580. This publiqbook vvas printed by Iohn Charlevvood and Ed. vvhite vvith approbation vvnder noted.

rainbowes that appeared at one time: that saint Peters great gate dyd fall downe, and kill fourtene persones with eight soldiours. That two towers allso of Saint Peters churche were fallen, had beaten downe the churche and crushed in pieces much people, amonge whom were eightene preests: further more, that the churches of the francifcanes, saint Iames, & of saint Bartilmew, with oure ladyes churche, the whole Monalterie of Marie Magdalen, the whole Armorie of the citie of Rome, the hospitall of an hundred and fiftie persones with an infinitie number of other houses and buyldings fell downe all at once: And all this happened (say they) to the intent that the world might vnderstand the Roman Religion to displease God: I passe ouer and omitte verie manie such artificiall shiftes and deuises which oure aduersaries doe leane to, of purpose to make oure cause more odiouse in the open sight of the people.

Now therfore (to come at the last to an end) yow know the state of oure case, in what termes vve stand, and to vvhat Issue oure matters in England are grovvē. All is on a hote fire vvith the light

a booke bynder for speaking some woords in the fauoure of the Catholique religiō was arraigned at the assises, before the Iudges, and roughlie handled by all the benche. For besyde muche griefe and vexation whiche he endured in prison: the matter fell owt thus at the last, partlie by the verdit of the Iurie, and partlie by the rigoure of the Iudges: that the poore man was fyrst made to stand openlie in the market place to his reproche and infamie, then were his eares nayled hard and fast to a poste and a knyfe was put into hys owne hand, there, with all to cutt his owne ears in sunder & so to delyuer hym selfe. This was a seuere sentence aboue measure as many men then dyd think. But what folowed? A wonder full Iudgement of God vndowbtedlie. For withein few dayes after, the two Iudges, and well nigh all the iurie, many of the iustices & freeholders, with verie many other of them whiche had bene present there, dyed all of a straunge kinde of disease, some in the sayd citie, and some in other places. But all the blame for this was layd vpon Catholiques: all this was imputed to magike and sorcerie, as practised by Catholiques.

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So writ Io. Nicols a gramarion, and

minister coming from Rome & lyeing of Rome. Set vp in the pulpet & honored vvith an honorable presence.

phantasie & pleasure, so he doe it by way of despite and contumelie against the Catholique religiō. Now whence cometh so great rancour and hatred? wherof springeth so muche displeasure and malice? what may be the cause of all this spite and enuy? can ye tell? Yea but they rest not thus: they stay not with in this degree of immodestie: nor are content to be kept with in these limits of folye: they run headlong much further: for yf there be none to be fownde, which can tell skornfull and scoffing tales, nor throw vp on heapes any filthynesse, nor obserue and note any misbehauiours against Rome: then doe these felowes forth of theyr own forge coyne and create new miracles and wondres of Rome, to doe them selues some pleasure or seruice in pulpets, tables, & books. And to such an effect they haue latelie settforth in a printed pāphlet mani meruailous things to haue happened the last yere at Rome, & that by the space of many dayes. VVherby they woulde make vs beleiue that God by greate and straunge signes and tokens doeth shew his wrath and indignation against that citie, for they tell vs of two Sunnes and two

The 23. 24. 25. daies of Ianuarie. 1580. This fabling book vvas printed by Iocharley vvood and Ed. vvhite vvith approbation vnder noted.

rainbowes that appeared at one time: that saint Peters great gate dyd fall downe, and kill fourtene persones with eight soldiours. That two towers allso of Saint Peters churche were fallen, had beaten downe the churche and crushed in pieces much people, amonge whom were eightene preests: further more, that the churches of the franciscanes, saint Iames, & of saint Bartilmew, with oure ladyes churche, the whole Monasterie of Marie Magdalen, the whole Armorie of the citie of Rome, the hospitall of an hundred and fiftie persones with an infinitie number of other houses and buyldings fell downe all at once: And all this happened (say they) to the intent that the world might vnderstand the Roman Religion to displease God: I passe ouer and omitt verie manie such artificiall shiftes and deuises which oure aduersaries doe leane to, of purpose to make oure cause more odiouse in the open sight of the people.

Now therfore (to come at the last to an end) yow know the estate of oure case, in what termes vve stand, and to vvhat Issue oure matters in England are grovvē. All is on a hote fire vvith the light

burning flames of peſecutions: Catholiques and right beleuers are euerie where afflicted with all maner of diſcõmodities, with hatreds, with reproches, with bõdes, with impriſonments, with iniuries, and with what elſe ſoeuer ſerueth to an afflicted lyfe or helpeth to make vp a calamitie, full, abſolute and perfite: And yet for all this oure aduerſaries are not moued at all with any affectiõ of pitie or cõpaſſion: but their wrathe waxeth fierce, and their malice groweth freſh dailie more & more: In ſo muche as now they ſeme to be come to that point whereof oure Sauioure foretolde: *that euerie one that killeth* Ioh. 16. *yovv, thinke he doeth a ſeruice to God.* But the Catholiques doe comfort them ſelues with the woords of oure Sauioure Io. 16. foloweing in the ſame place: *Theſe things they vvill doe to yovv, becauſe they haue not knovvne my father nor me: but theſe things I haue ſpoken vnto yovv, that vvhen the houre ſhall come, ye may remembre them, for I haue ſpoken to yovv.* That ſayeing allſo of Saint paule they doe often recite for their cõ- 2. Cor. 10 fort. *God is faithfull, vvhiche vvill not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that you maye, but euen vvith temptation he vvill make an encrea-*

ſe, that ye may endure.

This encreaſſe of the faithfull, thus promiſed before hand as a recompenſe for patient ſufferance of perſecution, the Catholiques in England doe ſēſiblie feele to be paſſinge good: And thereupon ye falleth owte, that beſide the inward ſweteneſſe of the holie ghoſte, they are alſo not alitle animated and confirmed with this externall comfort and conſolation, whiles they vnderſtand and ſee with their eyes the number of right belieuyng Catholiques to be ſo maruailouſlye encreaſed, ſyns the rigour of the perſecutors haith bene doubled and redoubled vpon them. For this is a manifeſt ſignification of gods loue, wherebv he doeth aſſure and certifie vs that he will neuer forſake this oure cauſe, or rather I might ſay his own cauſe, yf we for oure parts doe fullfill and kepe the rules and precepts of humilitie, mekneſſe, longanimitie and patience. And withoute doubt yf in mynd and memorie we wolde runne ouer & vewe the troubles whiche Catholiques haue ſuffered allredye: or meaſure & eſteme by conieĉture the vexatiōs which may hang ouer their heads to be yet ſuffred: we ſhall

The increaſe of Catholiques in Englād.

finde, how yt can neyther be imputed to the power or habilitie of man, that hither to they haue susteined the same: nor may be looked for that hereafter by mans power they may persevere stedfastlie to the ende. This must be begged and craued of God alone, and must by cõtinuall prayers be obteined of the father of lights, Iac. 1. *from vvhome euerie best guyft and euerie perfect guyft* procedeth.

Now, what puissance and valew of mynd think yow might suffice? what nobleneſse of courage wer nedefull? what strong and steadfast constancie do yow iudge requisite to make mẽ hable to beare and endure those vexations which I before I haue reported? those contumelies (I mean) and those despites? those rebukes and dishonors? those prisons, bolts and shakles? those deformities and disorders? those loothsome and ill fauored sights? those stinking sauours? those putrifactions for want of good lodging? those consumptions, traistings and pihyngs away for lacke of naturall sustinance? those torments? those deathes? And neuertheleſse that same whiche before I haue sayde, I must here eftsones repeate

and yow muſt kepe yt in memorie, for it is true, that I haue ſkant touched the hundreth part of thoſe afflictions whiche oure Catholiques dailie ſuſtein in priſon. But yet yf Catholiques might fynde ſuch fauour as they might be entreated and vſed in ſuche maner as theeues, manmurderers, parricides, and hainouſe offenders are vſed, or might be releued with their owne goods, or refreſhed with the benignitie and almes that other men wold beſtow of them: we ſhowld haue no cauſe to grudge, and we might well think that we were not hardlie delte withall. For I know there will be fownd in England many, aſwell of honeſt calling, as of the degrees of wooſhipp and honor, whiche willinglie woolde be content to ſell away all their goods, lands and poſſeſſiõs, and to yelde them ſelues to become ſeruants to the afflicted Catholiques, rather than the ſame Catholiques ſhould ſuffer ſo vnſemelie and dishonorable miſchiefes and inconueniences of hungre, famine, pouertie and want of neceſſaries as they doe daihe ſuffer and endure: but it will not be allowed nor permitted.

Yet I wold not yow ſhould take me

other wise than I mea. I speake not of tho se principall persones of honor or woorshipp, whiche are in prison for religion: who (I deny not) haue libertie to vse their ovvn goods. But I speake of the great multitude of most miserable poore captiues, and speciallie of priests, vvho at this daye are kept so straitlie, as no man hathe accesse vnto them: and vvho so euer desireth accesse, he is called in suspition: and except he can purge hym selfe, he is apprehended by and by. So Maister hanse of late, vvhen he desired to speak vvith some prisoners (bicause he had almes to delyuer to them) vvas attached as suspected for religion, and in short space after hanged on the galovves. In like sort many other, for the same cause, haue bene arreasted vpon suspitiō, and clapt in prison. And by these means oure aduersaries do terrefie Catholiques, that none should dare to bring any almes for prisoners.

And it is no lesse perill to the geuers than to the bringars, yf the matter be once knowne: But it hapneth to be knowne manie wayes: and oure aduersaries, to get the knowleige thereof, doe oftentimes put priests to the racke, or other tortu-

res, and examin thé who they are whiche haue geuen them almes? and who hathe bestowed vpon thé other woorks of pietie? And yf anie by force of torment should confesse anie such thing (whiche to this day, by gods help, none hathe done:) then wolde oure aduersarie thereupō two maner of wayes anoye vs. Firſt, he wold vtterlie discredit the mā, as a traitor to his own frinds: then wold he so afflict the geuer of almes, as for drede of punishement he wold driue away others from exercise of like works of pietie.

M. Iohnſō M. Briant an others racked for the same cauſe, all moſte to deathe.

Now, siche oure aduersaries by this cunnyng deuise haue brought this to passe, that none dare geue almes, nor anye dare carie to a prison the almes whiche is geuen: yt must medes hereupō folow (as plainlie with oure eyes we see haith followed) that oure Catholiques in prison through penurie, nedynesse, and want of necessaries must languish & weare away, and at the last for verie pinyng hungar & nakedneſſe pitifullie perishe in prison I suppose yow haue heard of a certein nūber of persones latelie extinct and dead in prison at york: I will not take vpon me to auouche or suspect more hardlie, the-

reof, than as I haue ſayd: albeit there be ſome whiche do ſuſpect ſomewhat becauſe that preſident there beareth ſuche mortall and inconſiderate hatred againſt vs, as he ſemeth to couet nothing in the world ſo much as oure vtter ruine & deſtruction. God be gratiouſe to hym, geue hym a better mynde, and ſend hym a mileder ſpirit toward miſerable captiues, that he hym ſelfe allſo, once at the length when the tyme will come, may for hym ſelfe obtain mercie at the hands of the generall and common Lorde and Iudge of vs all.

Erle of hũtingdon.

Yf I wolde recite the bitter affliction and inhumanitie which Catholiques in that priſon at york the yeres by paſt haue felt and ſuffred, or at this tyme do fele and ſuffer more than euer before: I ſhould neuer make ende. But by this one we may coniecture of the reſt. A certein miniſter competenlie learned, whiche had ſtode a great while on our aduerſaries ſide, and had verie earneſtlie to the vttermoſte of his power defended the ſame: came at the length to ſuch intelligence by reading of the holie fathers, as he dyd ſee verie clearlie that his companions had no truthe to

M. Bell.

leane

leane vnto, but that all way on euil side: and that, without all doubt. The zealous yong man could not stopp the conceiued light of truthe, not suppresse the flame thereof burning within his brest. When this was knowne abroad to the worlde oure aduersaries apprehend the man, they seke by threatninges to putte him in feare: But he for all that is not terryfied: they sett vpon hym vvith arguments, but he was to hard for the: they vvold vvynne hym vvith faier vvoords, but he is not allured. VVhat then? they thrust hym into prison, they handle hym harplie: yet is he nothing relented. At the last they hang hym vvard in suche maner, as his feet being put in a payre of high stocks, he lay vvith his shoulders onlie vpō the floore, and that vvithoute either bedding or any thing to leane vpō other than the bare floore, the space of very many daies together, sauyng that they shewed hym suche fauour onlie, as at certein times they eased him some vvhat, for his bodilie nedes. VVhat can be more cruell than this?

I omit here the rigours which are vsed against women there imprisoned for religion, to whom ouer and besydes the

vexations that are incident to prisons: this further greefe is added, that albeit their husbands do yelde, and are conformable (as they terme it) to oure aduersaries: yet are they all punished, except they will eyther compell their wiues to doe as they them selues doe, or elles will take away from them their necessarie foode & sustinance. VVhat then shall these miserable afflicted vvomen do, when they can not be permitted to haue the necessarie releefe of lyfe, no not at their husbands hands? must they not perish through the inconueniéces of penurie and nedyenesse? and yet oure gospellers are not moued with any compassion or pitie for all these.

And as to other prisons vvhiche are in London, I coulde reporte to yovv many lamentable cases aswell of suche as late vvere extinct therein, as of them vvhiche yet liue there in miserie, but that I feare lest my complainte vvold be an occasion of more greuouse affliction yet this is moste certein, that many haue endured verie greate extremities through penury, and yet dailie looke for more greuous vexation, yf that moste seuere

lavv touching going to churches be put in execution. For it vvill so vtterlie begger exhaulte and oppresse Catholiques: as they shall not be able to releiue either thē selues or their families, and muche lesse to succoure others that are afflicted. And thereupon the state and conditions of Catholiques in England semeth likely to fall in to extreme calamities, and inconueniences, neuer heard of before with christian ears, in such wise, as Innocents shall be spoyled of their own goods, yea and pine away perish and be consumed with famine: and all, for their conscience onlie, towching the faith and religion of their auncetors. Before mētioned.

But when I beholde & earnestie looke into that passing excellent, singular and in dede princelie noblenesse of hart, with the exceding great clemency and milde disposition whiche nature hathe planted in oure Quene, I am hardlie induced to beleeue that her maiestie will permit such a straite and extreme law to be putt in execution, to the vtter ruine of men afflicted with miserie, to the ouerthrow of her owne subiects, to the disturbance of her kingdome, and to driue all the whole

worlde besides, in to a mase with the wōder thereof. Yet neuerthelesse on the other syde, when I depelle consider how her grace is incensed against vs with she continuall clamours of oure aduersaries, and by how subtile means and cunnyng shifts, dailie incited and stirred vp to oure persecution and destruction; whiles there is not one in the waye eyther to excuse or defend vs, or yet in oure behalfe, by waye of hūble sute, to procure some cōpassion for oure afflictions: then I see yt to be possible, that not onely these extremities, but greater also, and farre harder extremities may be permitted against vs.

The conclusion.

Nowe therfore (to conclude all in one woord) two things onlie remain for vs to doe in these straite distresses wherein we stand. One, that with feruent vowes, and deuoute prayers we humblie call and crie vpon oure Lorde and Sauioure Christ, to mollifye the harts of oure persecutors. The other, that we remaine in a steadfast fure and resolute minde to suffer, & beare for his sake, what so euer happeneth to vs, referring all the rest to his moste holie prouidence; with this moste certein persuasiō, trust & beleefe, that yf we stād

fast in this myndes, and laye oure selues whollie vnder his custodie and protectiō, he will directe vs the safest waye into the hauen of oure saluation.

And yf we persist firmly in this myod and purpose, yf we putt on this armoure of hope, faithe, and feruent charitie, with the contempt of all mortall and wordlie things: yf we be (I saye) once fast planted and depely rooted in this moste firm and vnmouable rock, which is oure Christe crucified: VVe shall be able with greate ease, and withoute trouble to endure, and abyde what rigoure or crueltie so euer oure aduersaries shall practise against vs. For we shall peaceably enioye the passing greate securitie & quietnesse of that man, whome oure Sauioure in the gospell cōmendeth as a right wyse man: *vvhich buylded his hovvse vpon the rocke, and the raine dyd fall, and the floodes came, and the vvinds dyd blovv, and rushed against that hovvse, and yt fell not, for yt vvas buyded vpon a trocke:* yea we shall sensibly feele in oure harts, and professe by mouth, as Saint Paule did, that moste holy and moste valiāt capitaln of oure religion and champion of Christ oure Sauioure: *VVho shall separate vs from*

Matth.

Rom 8.

the loue of Christe? shall tribulacion? shall aduersitie? shall nakednesse? shall perill? shall persecucion? shall the swoorde? As who should say none of these: for by and by he expoundeth hym selfe: *Neyther deathe, nor lyfe, nor angells, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor strengthe, nor highenesse, nor depenesse, nor other creature can separate vs from the loue of God, whiche is in Christ Iesus, oure lorde.*

O passing noble sayeing, and woorthye to procede frō so greate an Apostle as Saint Paule was. VVhat can be spoken or imagined more couragiouse? VVhat can be thought in mans mynde with more assured truste and confidēce? This therfore must be depelie cōsidered of vs who are persecuted for the same cause for whiche he was persecuted: this must we imitate, whiche wrestle in the same barriars where he wrestled, and contend for the same game for which he contended: which hope for the same garland vhiche he hoped for, and expect the same recompenser whiche he expected. Hither must all oure cogitations and studies tende: hither must oure forces and powers be applied all together: that in all troubles

and aduersities, we retein fast this sure hope and confidence, wherof, in dede, so exceding greate fortitude will spring: & in all distresses (be they neuer so greuouse, hard & doubtfull) suche passing good comfort will arise and grow: as may suffise to bring vs through *by fyre and water in to the refrigerie* (as the prophet saith) & that is, by the painfull troubles and calamities of this worlde, in to the euerlasting rest, glorie, and felicitie of God and all Saints. Amen. Psalm. 65.

AN ADMONITION SENT BY GERARD TO THE READER touching the former epistle.

VVhen I imparted vvith some of my familiars this epistle, vvhich vvas sent vnto me from a fryend ouer the Alpes: vpō their earnest request, and certein kinde of deuoute importunitie, I vvas contēt to let it passe further in to the hands of some noble and principall persones, by vvhose persuasion, or rather commaundement it vvas put in printe. For I thought it to be muche auailable to the common estate of Christendome, that this so notable a persecution of Catholiques in England should be not onlie communicated to the knovvleige of this present age, but put ouer allso to the mynde and memorie of oure posteritie. For it hathe matter enough to sturre vp them novv liuing to compassion and pitie, and to instruct them that are to come, of vvhat thīgs they ought to take hede & bevvare. But of one thing I vvoolde aduertise the reader (as my freēde in other letters hath aduertised me) that among many matters not mētioned in the other parts of his Epistle this one in the rehearsall of lavves he hathe vvillinglie omitted: that is, hovv by many statuts, and proclamations such order is taken in England, as no Catholique, either by exile, or by forsaking of his countrie,

can escape, or vvithdravv hym selfe from those paines, or persecutions vvhiche folovv hym for religiō. For it is prouided (to this effect) that no Catholique may goe forth of the realm, vvithout leaue and licence first obteined: And that yf anie do go forth vvithoute licence: he shall forfait all his possessions during his life: yea and further, that none before his departure forth of the realme may geue avvay his possessions, no not to his vvyfe, childeren or fryends. For yf he doe: it shall be taken as done of couen to defraude the queue of her forfaictures. And as for such forfaitures, they shall easilie be recouered by information of couen. But this statute of fugitiues (for so it is called) is so strictlye and seuerelie obserued against Catholiques, as none vvithin the realm, dare by anie vvay or mean help, succoure, or releeue eyther father, mother, husband, bretheren, or children, vvhich are Catholiques, and vvithoute licēce abyding oute of England. And as for this licence to be absent oute of the realme, as it is hardlie obteined for others: so is it neuer or seldome, and vvith verie muche difficultie graunted to Catholiques. Yea further, (vvhiche is more seuere) all those parents (vvhose childeren are abyding in these parts, or else vvhere oute of England, for studie sake, are compelled to enter in bond, vvith good assurance, eyther to dravve their childeren home again by and by vvithoute tarieng, or to depriue them vtterlie of all exhibition and releefe. All vvhiche things do tende to this ende, that no part nor portion of anie re-

leese or comfort, be it neuer so litle, might frelye come to the Englisſh Catholiques, either at home or abroad. And theſe be the matters vvhereof I thought good to admoniſh yovv, becauſe they are not ſpokē of in the epiſtle. There remaineth novv no more but that all true Chriſtians vvold thorovvlie yevve and cōſider the great diſtreſſes of their bretheren & of their ovvne intrailes, and vvith moſte feruent prayers, for the common bond ſake of Charitie, vvhiche paſſeth thorovvgh the vvhole corps of Chriſtendome, to commend their caſe to the common lorde quer all.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER SENT

from a priest, being prisoner in the Towre of London, to the fathers of the Societie of Iesus in England.

To the deuote reader.

ALthoughe it be true, that Catholiques imprisoned in the towre of london, are kepte straitlye, and vncourteouslie in warde: as neyther friends maye haue accesse vnto them, nor they permitted eyther to haue company or to speake with other men, and muche lesse to haue bookes, paper, or penne and ynke: Yet during the late disputatiō there with father Campian the prisoner, some of them whiche were entred in to heare the disputations, finding oportunitie, stepped a syde vnto the holes of some secluſed priests, to visit and salute those seruants of Christe: by whiche means, as by gods holie prouidence, some thinges were vnderstoode and knowne, touching their state and passing greate comfort, where whith God of his goodnesse doeth refreshe and recreate them, in the myddes

of their extreme troubles and distresses. And among other things, this epistle following, written in haste, (euen foorth of the mouth downe lesse, as it semeth, of the holy ghooste) by a good preist, which had bene miserablie tormented, and sundrie times racked, came to my hands frome the reuerend fathers of the Societie of Iesus, to whome it was sent. And here I thought good to place yt woord by woord taken oute of the Authors owne handwriting, that all mortall men may vnderstand gods hand not to be abbriged, but that aswell now, as in old time, he aydeth his confessors in their necessities, and assisteth them with in those dark and close prisons.

Esa. 56.

TO THE REVEREND FATTERS of the Societie of Iesus.

AS often as euer I consider vvith my selfe (reuerend fathers) hovvferuentlie, and by hovv many vvayes and means allmighty God seekeeth our saluation, desireth oure loue, vvisheth to possesse oure hart, and to raigne vvith in vs: eue so many tymes, am I ashamed & abashed, that neyther benefits do moue vs, nor revvardes allure vs, nor terror of Gods Iudgement dothe prouoque vs miserable men, to serue and obey hym vvith all force and indeuour, yea, and most freelie to present our bodies as a liuing sacrifice, and perfect offering to his diuine maiestie. For beside those his passing greate benefits of creation, redemption, preseruation, iustification, and expected glorification: beside these (I say) and infinite other his benefits, bestovved vpon vs: he exhorteth vs vvith moste svvete vvoords, to haste apace tovvards hym. I loue them (sayth he) vvhiche loue me: & he vvhiche earlie in the morning vvaketh to me, shall fynde me: blessed is the man vvhiche heareth me, vvatcheth at my gates dailie, and attendeth at the postes of my doore: he vvhiche fyndeth me, shall fynde lyfe; and obtein saluation at the hands of his lorde.

Novv, vvhere he is to be sought, he hym selfe teacheth vs by these vvoords: vvhere so euer tvvo or three are gathered together in my name (saith he) there am I in the myddes of the

VVe must then think Christe to be trulie in that place, vvhere many being fast ioyned in loue and charitie, do assemble to gether to this ende that they may honor God, serue god onlie, kepe his commaundements, and enlarge his moste gloriouse kyngdome. VVho so euer heareth hym, shall learne truthe and shall not vvalk, in darknesse and in blyndnes of errors, but shall goe safe and sure to the fountains of vvaters.

In such sacred congregations dedicated to god, lyeth the right vvay to heauen: avvay not planted aboute vvith breers and brembles, not haunted of levved liuers, but cōtinuallie trodden vvith the feete of deuout people. A vvaye not abounding in vain delites, nor in faire flattering enticemēts: Avvaye not adourned vvith the fading flovvers of this vvicked vvorlde, but fenced and fortified vvith moste holie lavves and rules, that the simple and ignorant can not erre therein, nor anie other go a stray oute of that vvay; except suche as vtterlie neglect their ovvne saluatiō. Here things are aptlie disposed in number, vveight, and measure, in so much as it may vvell be sayd, that true vvisdome in dede dvvelleth here, by vvhose meās all things are sett in good order meruailouslie. Here is vsed and exercised a certein heauenlie reformation of brethren, a svvete correction and amedment of frovvard affectiōs vvith a vvonderfull procurement and inuitation to mutuall loue and charitie.

For these or such like respects, I had determined vvith my selfe novv tyvo yeres agoe to entre in to this kinde of lyfe, yf god so vvold: &

I had ſome ſpeche vvith a learned and deuoute man, then my Ghoſtlie father to this effect: vvhether there vvere any hope, that the fathers of the ſocietie vvold receiue me vnder their holie rule and obedience, yf I ſhovvide vpon reaſonable cauſe retarne forth of my naturall countrie againe, for then I vvas in the parts beyond the ſeas: his opinion vvas cleare that I had no nede at all to doubt thereof. Herevpon my hope encreaſed, my courage vvas augmented, and in theſe tvvo yeres, vvhiles I haue bene in England, I haue oftentymes renevved this purpoſe. But vpon hope and truſt that my trauaile and induſtrie here, in the harueſt of oure Lorde, is not altogether vnprofitable, I haue differred the execution of my ſayd purpoſe. Yet novv, ſeeth I am by the appointemēt of god depriued of libertie, ſo as I can not any longer employe my ſelfe in this profitable exerciſe: my deſire is eſtſones reuiued, my ſpirit vvaxeth feruent hote, and at the laſt I haue made a vovv and promiſe to god, not raſhlie (as I hope) but in the feare of god, not to anie other ende, than that I might therby more deuoutlie, and more acceptablie ſerue god, to my more certain ſaluation, & to a more glorioufe triumphe ouer my ghooſtlie enemye. I haue made a vovve (I ſay) that vvhen ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe god to deliuer me (ſo that once at the length yt like hym) I vvill vvith in one yere then next folovvyng, aſſigne my ſelfe vvholie to the fathers of the ſocietie, and that (Yf god inſpire their harts to admit me:) I vvill gladlie, and vvith exceding great ioye thorovvlie, and

thorowvlie, from the bottom of my hart geue vp and surrender all my vvill to the seruice of god, and in all obedience vnder them.

This vowve vvas to me a passing great ioye, and consolation, in the myddes of all my distresses, and tribulations. And therfore, vvith greater hope to obtein fortitude and patiece, I drevv neare to the throne of his diuine maiestie, vvith the assistance of the blessed and perpetuall virgin Marie, and of all Saincts. And I hope verilie this came of God, for I dyd it euen in the tyme of prayer, vvhen me thought, my mynde vvas lifted vpon heauenlie things. For thus it vvas.

The same day that I vvas first tourmented on the rack, before I came to the place, geuing my mynd to prayer, and commending my selfe and all myne to oure Lorde, I vvas replenished, and filled vp vvith a kinde of supernaturall fvvetenesse of Spirit. And euen vvhile I vvas callyng vpon the moste holie name of Iesus, and vpon the blessed virgin Marie (for I vvas in sayeing the Rosarie) my mynd vvas cheerefully disposed, vvell comforted, and readilie prepared, and bent to suffer, and endure those torments, vvhich euen then I moste certeinlie looked for. At the length my former purpose came in to my mynde, and there vvith all a thaughte coincidentlie fell vpon me to ratifie that vovve by vowve, vvhich before I had determined. VVhen I had ended my prayers, I reuolued these things in my mynde depelie: and vvith reason (as vvell as I could) I dyd debate and discusse them thorowvlie. I iudged it god,

and

and expedient for me: I accomplished my desire: I put forth my vovv and promise freelie, and boldlie, vvith the condition a fore sayde.

VVhich acte, (me thinketh) god hym self did approue and allovv by and by. For in all my afflictions and tourments, he of his infinite goodnesse, mercifully and tenderlie, did stand by and assiste me, cõforting me in my trouble and necessitie. Deliuering my soule from vvicked lipps, from the deceitfull tongue, and from the roring lyons, then readie gaping for their pray.

VVhether this that I vvill say, be miraculous or no: God he knovveth: but true it is, & thereof my cõscience is a vvitnesse before God. And this I say: that in the end of the torture though my hands & feete vvere violently stretched & racked, and my aduersaries fullfilled their vvicked lust, in practisynge their cruell tyranny vpõ my body, yet notvvitstanding I vvas vvith ovvt sense and feling vvell nigh of all greefe, & payne: and not so onlie, but as it vvere comforted, eased and refreshed by the greeues of the torture by past, I cõtinued still vvith perfect & prefect senses, in quietnesses of hart, & trãquilitie of mynd. VVhich thing vvhen the commissioners dyd see, they departed, and in goeing foorth of the doore, they gaue order to rack me againe the next day folovveing, after the same sorte. Novv vvhen I hearde them say so: It gaue me in my mynd by and by. and I dyd verelie beleue & trust, that vvith the help of god, I should be able to beare & suffer it patientlie. In the mean tyme (as vvell as I could) I dyd muse and meditate vpon the moste bitter passion

of oure Sauio ure, and hovv full of innumerable paines it v vas. And vvhiles I vvas thus occupied: me thought, that my left hād vvas vvounded in the palme, and that I felt the blood runne out: but in verydede, there vvas no such thing, nor any other payne than that, dyd then greeue my hand.

Novv then, that my ſute and requeſt may be vvell knovvne vnto yovv: for ſo muche as I am oute of hope, in ſhort time to recouer & enioye my former libertie, ſo as I might perſonalie ſpeake vnto yovv, And vvhether happilie I ſhall once at lengthe ſpeake vnto yovv in this vvorld, no mortall man doeth knovv: In the meane ſeaſon I humblie ſubmitt my ſelfe vnto yovv, & (ſuppliātlie kneeling) I beſeche yovv, to doe, and diſpoſe for me, and of me, as ſhall ſeme good to youre vviſdoms And vvith an hūble mynd moſte hartilie I craue, that (yf it may be in my abſens) it vvold pleaſe yovv to admit me into your Societie, & to regeſter and inrole me among yovv: that ſo, vvith humble men I may haue a ſenſe and feling of humilitie, vvith deuoute men I may ſounde out a ſovvde, the lauds and prayſes of God, and continually render thanks to hym, for his benefits: and then after, being ayded by the prayers of many, I may rūne more ſafelie to the marke vvhich I ſhoote at, and vvith oute perill attaine to the price that is promiſed.

And I am not ignorant that the ſnares & vviles of oure aunciēt enemie are in finite: for he is the ſlye ſerpēt, vvhich lyeth in the ſhadovv, of vvoods, vvyndyng, vvhirling, & turning aboute

many vvayes: and vvith his vviles & subtil shifts, he attempteth meruailouslie to delude & abuse the soules of the simple, vvhich vvant a faithfull guyde: in so much, as it is not vvithoute cause, that vve are admonished, to trie the spirits, yf they be of God. To yovv therfore, bicause you are spirituall, and accustomed to this kinde of conflict, I commend all this businesse: beseching yovv euen by the bovvelles of gods mercy that you vvold vouchesafe to direct me vvith your counsaile and vvisdome. And yf in youre sight yt seme profitable, for more honor to God, more cómoditie to his churche, and eternall saluation to my soule, that I be preferred to that Societie of the most holie name of Iesus: then presently before god, and in the court of my conscience, I do promise obedience, to all and singular rectors, & gouernours established all redie, or to be hereafter established, and likevvyse to all rules, or lavves receiued in this societie, to the vttermoste of my povver, and so farre as God doeth geue me grace: God is my vvitnesse, and this my ovvn hand vvriting shalbe a testimonie hereof in the day of Iudgement As for the healthe of my bodye, yovv haue no cause o doubt for novv vvell nere I haue recouered my former strengthe and hardnesse, by gods help, & I vvax euery day stronger than other. Thus in all other things cómending my selfe to youre prayers, I byd yovv farevvell in oure Lorde, carefullye expecting vvhat yovv thinke good to determin of me. Vale.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE gentle reader.

SInce the printing of this epiſtle laſt rehearſed, I haue heard that the Author thereof vvas one Maiſter Briãt, vvho latelie ſuffered (as is ſayd) vvith Maiſter Campian, and Maiſter Shervvyn, three moſte bleſſed and fortunate men: vvhoſe happ hathe bene after ſo many torments and tortures ſuffred for gods cauſe, to ſeale vvith their innocent blood, the truthe, vvhiche they tanght vvith ſo much payn and daungers before. Novv Maiſter briãt hathe more than his deſire, being ioyned i ſocietie vvith Ieſus hym ſelfe, to vvhoſe holie name he ſo muche coueted to dedicate his lyfe in this vvorlde, as appeareth by this his epiſtle. And I dovvbt not, but that it vvas a ſingular comfort vnto hym to ſuffer in the companie of good father Campian, ſo rare a man of that Societie, vvhereof he deſired ſo greatlie to be a member vvhiles he liued.

Hovv farr all treaſon, and other diſorder of lyfe, vvas from the harts, hands and vvoords of theſe Innocent men, and the reſt vvhich vvere condemned vvith them, all they can teſtifye vvhiche euer knevv them, or lined vvith them: for that their vvoords and exhortations, vvere allvvays to the cõtrarye in deteſtation of all vice, and in commendation of vertuouſe lyfe, vvith contempt of the vvorld, and humbly ſuffring all troubles and perſecutions for Chriſte his ſake, adding alvvayes, that Catholiques muſt rather loue, & hartilie praye for their per-

ſecutors, than ſeeke any vvay to hurt them, or to reuenge theire ſelues vpon them, if it lay in their povver. This haue I hearde, and ſo haue thovvſands moꝛe in Englād beſydes me, and no mā liuinge (I knovv) dyd euer heare from their movvthes the contrarie. Their lyues allſo vvere ſuche in all ſecret auſteritie of diſcipline to them ſelues: as he that had knovvne the, vvolde litle beleeue, that they vvere men to attempt ſuche matters, as they vvere charged vvithall.

Yf theſe men had bene guiltie of ſuche horrible treaſons: they ſhould neuer haue bene ſo dallied vvithe all, firſt in diſputatiós, and muche leſſe ſhould they haue had lyfe, libertie, and fauour offred them, for onelie yeelding to goo to churche, as maiſter Campian opēlie affirmed that they often had, and amongeſt many, named one of ſome accompt there preſent (as it vvas crediblie told me) vvhich had offered the ſame to hym vvith terrible threates, not onelie of deathe, but allſo of renting of his nayles from his fyngars vvith pynnes, yf he yeelded not thervnto.

Again, their ioyfull acceptation of Iudgement, and thankes geuing to God for the ſame, vvith their ſeuerall and moſte vehement proteſtation, there made at the barre, after their condemnation, doeth declare ſufficientlie the cleareneſſe of their cōſciēces. For then, and there, Maiſter Campian proteſted before God and his angells, heauen and earthe, the vvorld and that Iudgement Seate there preſent, vvhiche (as he trulie ſayde) vvas but a litle figure of the moſte dredefull Iudgemēt ſeat of God, before vvhich

he to his greate ioye expected shortlie to be presented: he protested (I say vpon eternall perdition of his Soule, that he vvas moste innocēt, guiltlenesse, and vnvvitting of all and singular the matters in that inditement alleiged, and of euerie part and parcell thereof. Maister Shervvyn protested vvith like vehemencie, that yf euer his heade did imagin, or his hart cōceiued, or his tongue vttered, or his hand attēpted, any thing against his soueraigne ladie Quene Elizabeth, or against any of her honorable Councell, or against the common vvealthe, or realme of England: he renounced there his portion in heauen, and desired God, as a iust Iudge to dāne hym bothe in bodie and sovvle to the eternall darknesse and torments of hell fire. And vvhen he had done, he cried oute: O happie and blessed day that euer he vvas borne. The like dyd the rest, vvhich vvere condemned vvith hym, forgeuing openlie their false accusars there present, and praying to God for them.

Novv lett anie man shevv to me, that euer traitour dyed so, or that a guiltie conscience, dothe yelde suche cōfidence, vvhen they knevv novv that there vvas no vvaye vvith them but deathe.

VVell, God be blessed for them: and surelie his holye name hathe bene greatlie glorifyed by them.

VVhat straunge torments and other extremyties they haue suffred before they came to die, he alone knovveth, and vve heare onlie of some part thereof, for vve see they vvere not men to complain of euery thing done to them,

but vvere content to put it vp in ſecret ; vvith hope to receiue theire revvarde at his hand.

Yet yf vve had not heard of their ſeuerall & often rackings: maiſter Campian his cõming to the barre vvith his handes ſolden in lynnen clothe, and vvith that febleneſſe , as he vvas neyther able to pluck of his ovvne mytton of freeſe nor lyft a cupp of drink to his mouthe vvithoute helpe, may vvell ſhevv hovv he had bene handled. Oure lorde ſhevv his tourmentours more mercie at the day of his Iudgement, than they haue ſhevved hym. Hovv mans nature had bene able to beare ovvte ſo great rigour & extremities, as they haue paſſed, (except Gods holie grace had bene plẽtifull vnto them) I doe not ſee. And that oure lorde dyd concurr vvith extraordinarie comfort, in their torments, it may appeare in this epiſtle goinge before of Maiſter Briant : vvhom Maiſter Norton the Rackemaiſter (yf he be not miſreported) vaunted in the court to haue pulled one good foote longer than euer God made hym and yet in the myddes of all he ſemed to care nothing , and therfore ovvte of dovvbt (ſayth he) he had a deuill vvithein hym. But vvhether it bea more propertie to the deuill to ſuffer patiently, or to torment other men mercyleſſlie, maiſter Briant and maiſter Norton ſhall diſpute the matter one day. vvhen deuills ſhall be at hand to beare vvitneſſe, and the Iudge bothe of deuills, and deueliſh men, ſhall be at hand to geue ſentence. In the meane ſpace I beſeche God to accept the Innocent bloode of his vertuouſe preeſts, for ſome part of pacifi-

cation of his vvrathe towards vs, and towards
oure persecutors, that they hauing the misle of
errour taken from their eyes, may see the tru-
the of Christs Catholique religion, for pro-
fessing vvherof, they afflict vs so gre-
uously as he seeth, to vvhose eyes al
iniuries do lye open, and to vvhose
onelye iudgement, vve leaue
oure cause and doeings to
be tryed and discerned,
vvhen it shall seme
moste conuenient
to his diuine
maiestie.
Amen.

FINIS.